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21 April 1994

NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.
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World Leaders Arrive for Crans Montana Forum

EFTA, CE Leaders Arrive

AU2004184194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Political and diplomatic figures continue to arrive in Bucharest for tomorrow's Crans Montana Forum opening. Two prominent figures arrived about an hour ago: Catherine Lalumiere, acting secretary general of the Council of Europe [CE], who was welcomed at Otopeni International Airport by Ambassador Virgil Constantinescu, general director at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Georg Reisch, general secretary of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA]. According to the schedule, Lalumiere will chair, together with President Ion Iliescu and Forum Foundation President Jean Paul Carteron, the inaugural session of the Crans Montana Forum in Bucharest on 21 April.

Upon his arrival at Otopeni Airport Reisch made the following statement to our radio station:

[Begin Reisch recording, in English with superimposed translation into Romanian] I am very glad to be here again as the head of EFTA. We want to have close ties with Romania. We have an accord on free trade exchanges and I am looking forward not only to presiding over a Forum session on the importance of free trade for international security, but also to meeting with

Romanian officials to discuss details on the cooperation between Romania and EFTA. [end recording]

We remind you that Otar Patsatsia, prime minister of the Republic of Georgia, also arrived in Bucharest this evening. According to our correspondent Nicu Popescu, the following guests are also expected to arrive tonight: Mechyslaw Hryb, chairman of the Supreme Council of Belarus, and Shim'on Peres, Israeli minister of foreign affairs.

Iliescu, 'Arafat on Peace Process

AU2004181494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Romanian President Ion Iliescu and Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, held talks at Cotroceni Palace this afternoon in the presence of their two delegations. In a statement to journalists after the talks, Iliescu welcomed the Palestinian leader's presence in Bucharest and the fact that the Crans Montana Forum offers the opportunity for a meeting between 'Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, who is due to arrive in Bucharest this evening. On this occasion the various political figures present in Bucharest will be briefed on the current stage and future prospects of the peace process, President Iliescu said.

'Arafat expressed the conviction that President Ion Iliescu will make all efforts to ensure that positive results are achieved during his talks with the head of the Israeli diplomacy. In this context, 'Arafat emphasized his determination to search for political solutions to the Middle East problems.

Official 'Welcomes' Greek Proposal for Talks*AU2004203194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] We have just received a report from the spokesman of the Albanian Foreign Ministry:

Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova, at a meeting today, informed Greek Ambassador in Tirana Tsalikis that the Albanian side welcomes the Greek proposal for a meeting at the foreign minister level in Zurich, Switzerland on 3 May.

By responding in this way, Albania is showing that it respects the choice of dialogue and is committed to finding ways to normalize relations with Greece.

While this meeting was held in Tirana, it has been learned that the Greek Foreign Ministry summoned Albanian Ambassador Hysen Cabej to an urgent meeting at the Greek Foreign Ministry and notified him that the diplomatic staff should be reduced from five diplomats to four.

Such a fact, which runs counter to statements by Greek Government officials on finding a way to dialogue and cooperation, cannot but surprise anyone. After this, it is somewhat difficult to understand the messages coming from Athens.

Berisha Views Relations With Greece, FYROM*AU2004195194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Albanian President Sali Berisha today received Ambassador Norman Anderson, chairman of the CSCE mission in Skopje.

During the meeting President Berisha told Anderson: We are assessing your mission's efforts to preserve stability and prevent the conflict, because Albania is deeply interested in preventing this conflict. However, we observe with anxiety that the tension continues to remain high and the danger great. The latest developments in Gorazde and the defeat of the United Nations and other institutions have greatly increased possibilities for the conflict to spread down through the region.

Regarding the crisis in Albanian-Greek relations, President Berisha stressed that the Albanian side has continuously tried for a policy of understanding and cooperation with its southern neighbor. However, he said, we ascertain that besides the Greek-Serb alliance, the Greek Government has continuously used the Albanian refugee factor as pressure against our country's sovereignty.

On the other hand, Greek Government officials have attempted to manipulate certain minority elements to fulfill Greece's open territorial vindications against Albania. The last case—the massacre by the Greek commando at the recruit barracks in Peshkepi e Sipërme—was an attack against Albania's sovereignty, for which the Greek Government should bear responsibility.

The Greek commando came from Greek territory and returned to this territory, too. It had all the characteristics of a commando of the Greek special forces or forces with special training. That is why we have raised this problem to the UN Security Council and the CSCE and have asked the European Union to set up a commission, despite investigations carried out by our both commissions, because Greece cannot be a party in the judgment.

However, we are determined to overcome contradictions through dialogue and hope that the other side shows the same will as well.

Regarding Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], President Berisha stressed that Albania is profoundly interested in cooperation with this Republic and in its stability. A considerable percentage of the population in that Republic is Albanian. I can say that with their participation in the government, the loyalty they have shown toward the coalition, and the democratic means and methods they have used and continue to use to realize their human and national rights, the Albanians are and will be a factor of stability.

Without negating the achievements in the field of rights and freedoms, we insist that the realization of their human and national rights is an important condition for Macedonia's stability. In this aspect, the census of the population, the opening of the schools, and the increasing commitment of the Albanians in the official structures can be considered by us as important steps.

For his part, Anderson expressed his concern over the situation in the region and particularly in Macedonia. The pressure exerted from Serbia, the possible explosion of a conflict in Kosova, and the blockade from the south endanger the stability of this Republic. In this direction, the cooperation between Albania and Macedonia is useful and serves stability in the region. We consider the solution of many questions that preoccupy the Albanians there to be an indispensability and we are insisting that the Macedonian Government fulfill the demands of Albanians. We are presently working to accomplish the census of the population and hope that it will be held in June this year.

Foreign Minister Reviews Policy Priorities*PM2004105794 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Apr 94 p 3*

[Interview with Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi by RIA-NOVOSTI special correspondent Vladimir Gurzhiy in Tirana under the "Diplomacy" rubric; date not given: "For Peace in Europe, All States Must Make a Contribution"]

[Text] [Gurzhiy] Minister, what are the foreign policy priorities of democratic Albania today?

[Serreqi] Albania's foreign policy is based on three main directions. First, to facilitate the transitional period and

create favorable conditions for building a rule-of-law state and establishing true democracy in Albania. Second, to accelerate Albania's integration into Europe. Third, to secure a stable, acceptable, and honest solution to what we call the all-Albania question, which is directly linked with what is happening in the former Yugoslav federation.

[Gurzhij] What is Albania's approach to problems of all-European partnership and cooperation, to the CSCE as an all-region political organization, and to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council as an organization of military-political cooperation?

[Serreqi] As I already pointed out at the start of our conversation, one of our foreign policy priorities is Albania's speediest worthy integration into all European and international structures. Here we rely on the reforms being implemented in Albania and on the successes achieved on this path over the past two years, and we take into consideration the special features of the Albanian people's mentality via a pronounced European orientation.

We believe that our main problems can be resolved more successfully via fruitful cooperation with international organizations than via bilateral alliances. We proceed from this logic in building our relations with European security structures—above all, NATO—at the first stage through participation in the "Partnership for Peace" program and at the next stage through full membership of this organization.

[Gurzhij] How do you rate the Russian position on these problems?

[Serreqi] We believe that membership of these international organizations presupposes the fulfillment of all the provisions of the corresponding documents. In the context of events in Europe and in the world, particularly after the collapse of the "bloc system," we believe that to build a more stable and peaceful Europe all states must make a contribution. We rate positively and support all efforts by other organizations within the CSCE framework aimed at restoring peace and international order. Any other approaches pose a threat to stability. They cannot, of course, be welcomed.

[Gurzhij] The resolution of the Albanian national question obviously presupposes the Kosovo problem. What is Albania's present position in respect to Kosovo?

[Serreqi] We believe that the problem of Kosovo is the key to settling the crisis in the former Yugoslavia—a crisis which could spread to the whole of the Balkans. Under real conditions, Albania takes a clear stand: We are opposed to altering borders by force. We have repeatedly advocated the inviolability of state borders. But this certainly does not mean that we are abandoning our demands to observe the rights of Albanians in accordance with international documents and the norms of international law.

I believe that the Yugoslav crisis is complex. So far the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been its most tragic part, and it is unfortunately continuing.

We welcome the recent very promising initiatives aimed at extinguishing the flames of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, just as we supported the NATO ultimatum, the sanctions resolution, and the Russian presence aimed at persuading the Serbs to join in this process.

We insist that the "Kosovo question" must be a constituent part of the overall plan for settling the crisis as its key problem. We believe that pressure must be put on Serbia to make it agree to the establishment of international control over Kosovo, starting with the return of the CSCE observers mission. Second, the question of lifting or easing the sanctions should be linked not only with the restoration of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also with the resolution of the problem of the Albanians in Kosovo.

[Gurzhij] So do you believe that the problem of Kosovo must be tackled right now, without waiting for a settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Serreqi] The crisis in the former Yugoslavia is complex. We respect the strategy of a phased resolution, but we cannot agree with the sidelining of its key elements. The problems of the crisis are organically linked to one another and must all be resolved together—step by step. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has somewhat pushed other problems into the background. The international community must realize that a potential threat of the widening of the crisis is linked with them. Thus, in respect to Kosovo it is obvious that it is unacceptable to regard the Kosovo problem as an internal matter for Serbia. If this problem is not tackled in a timely way on the basis of an honest and fair approach, the threat of the destabilization of the situation inside and outside the Balkans will arise.

[Gurzhij] What place does Russia occupy in Albania's foreign policy? How do you rate Russia's Balkan policy and, on the whole, the state of Albanian-Russian relations and their development prospects?

[Serreqi] Russia's presence in the Balkans is a historical fact, and its present participation in the context of the development of events in the former Yugoslavia is real. If we base ourselves on our previous conclusion that this presence must be realized within the framework of the efforts of the international community (CSCE, NATO), then any contribution, including Russia's, aimed at establishing peace should be welcomed.

In terms of bilateral relations, I would like to emphasize that we have long been working with Russian Ambassador to Albania V. Nerubaylo on the realization of a visit to Moscow by an Albanian Government delegation headed by A. Meksi, chairman of the Council of Ministers. We are awaiting a decision on the date of the visit.

[Gurzhiy] I believe that your interview will also serve to realize this visit. In this connection, what would you like to convey to Russian readers?

[Serreqi] Unfortunately, I have not yet had an opportunity to visit your country, but I believe that I do nevertheless have some idea of Russia. I am not sure that my knowledge of the political situation is consonant with my acquaintance with Russian culture. The sociopolitical changes in your country have been so great and so rapid.... In particular, I feel optimism at the well-known assessments of the Russian people's spirit and culture, and I am sure that the present processes will lead Russia to democracy. I would be pleased to visit your country as soon as possible. I also hope that your country might be able to make a worthy contribution to European and world affairs under conditions of genuine democracy.

Meksi Interviewed on Government Anniversary

AU2004055594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Precisely two years ago, the democratic government presided over by Aleksander Meksi that emerged from the 22 March elections took its oath before the president of the Republic. We availed ourselves of this opportunity to interview Prime Minister Meksi:

[Begin recording] [Meksi] Regarding the government's activity during these two years, I would highlight the great work done in the direction of the all-round reformation of Albania in the aspect of structures and the judicial, economic, and general aspect so as to pass from a state with a centralized economy and a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of democracy and free market economy. Of course, just a glimpse of that great work of the government and parliament, after two years, cannot be understood in one moment. However, if we take into account the large number of laws, we would understand that many things have changed in Albania and, in my opinion, they have changed for ever.

Nevertheless, the Albanian Government and parliament will have a greater obligation in the next two years, precisely in the direction of changing the economic, state, and judicial structures in Albania, because there are still many things to be done.

[Unidentified correspondent] What didn't you manage to accomplish in these two years as you would have liked to?

[Meksi] We would have liked public investments to have been more numerous and larger, but the difficulties of these two years and the need for a social character in the whole economic reform, as well as the need to support unemployment and the less economically rich strata, left fewer funds for foreign investments. We hope that in the coming years, together with the support program by the G-24 countries, these investments will be greater.

[Unidentified correspondent] What message would you like to address to the Albanian people today?

[Meksi] First of all, the overwhelming majority of the Albanian people have courageously supported the reform in Albania. The message I would send to them on this occasion would be to thank them for the support that they have given to the government and the economic and state reforms in Albania. This message is valid for all Albanians, first to the emigrants who have helped to overcome these two difficult years; the trade unions who have developed a dialogue, objected, and proposed better solutions to the government; and the political forces who have been objective and who have wanted to improve the reform in Albania to the benefit of Albania.

My thanks go to all those foreign experts who have come to Albania and have contributed to the reform; to all the associations who have helped Albania with humanitarian aid; to all states, first those of the European Community, the United States, Turkey, and other countries that, with the humanitarian aid, credits for raw materials, and assistance for the balance of payments have made it possible for Albania to overcome these difficult years of transition. [end recording]

Democratic Party Leader on 'Positive' Changes

AU2004173294 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] Democratic Party [PD] Chairman Eduard Selami held a news conference today. Let us follow a report by our correspondent Zamira Koleci:

[Koleci] PD leader Selami considered the changes that have occurred during these two years of Government in Albania to be unimaginable, in a positive sense. During the news conference, he defined the program followed by the democrats and its social-democratic and republican allies to be the best and only alternative to set the country on the road of pluralistic democracy, market economy, and integration with the world.

Proceeding from the reality of the last two years and the transformations and progressive changes, as well as the present political reality, the PD considers the demand for new elections to be baseless and destabilizing. The PD leader expressed his regret that the Socialist Party and its leadership cannot dissociate themselves from the past and that the socialist leaders oppose justice to defend corruption. Meanwhile, he said that his party has continuously condemned corruption as a phenomenon that injures democracy.

At the news conference Selami gave attention to the situation in the region, which he considered to be very complicated. According to him, the worsening of the situation in Bosnia and the fall of Gorazde [as heard] have cooled and weakened the hopes for peace and have shaken the stature of the United Nations and the people's belief in it. After the Serbs evicted the international

observers, the situation of Albanians in Kosova is becoming increasingly worse.

The news conference continued with reporters' questions.

Asked about the government coalition, Selami answered that the PD assesses the results of this cooperation to be very positive. However, he said, in democracy it is natural not to agree with everything.

Regarding the Council of Europe's reaction to the criminal incident of 10 April on the border with Greece, Selami, who was there heading an Albanian delegation, informed the reporters that the Albanian Government's note found complete approval and the problem has now entered the road of dialogue.

Selami assessed the possibility of the creation of a right of spectrum party to be completely normal in democracy. Meanwhile, he mentioned the PD's strict stance against the right-wing extremist forces. The victory of Berlusconi is a very positive phenomenon for the PD and an advantage to expand cooperation with Italy. We are parties of the same spectrum, continued Selami, and that makes communication easier.

After greeting the fact that Italy is presently going toward new political solutions, he said that Albania wants good relations with its coastal neighbor. Optimistic about the future, Selami assured them of positive relations not only at a party level, but also between the Albanian and Italian Governments.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Gorazde*AU2004172294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] The Foreign Ministry issued a statement today regarding developments in the situation around the Bosnian town of Gorazde. The statement recalls the Bulgarian viewpoint stated on 12 April 1994, which expressed alarm regarding the possible development of a chain reaction of military actions and an escalation of the conflict. Unfortunately, this chain reaction is now a fact.

The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry once again appeals to the warring parties to halt their military actions and show greater flexibility and realism in the search for solutions. A compromise on Bosnia-Herzegovina's present and future can be found only at the negotiating table, only within a broader European framework, with active cooperation and coordination between the United States, the European Union, and Russia, and with the assistance of the United Nations.

Bulgaria is ready to play an active part in the discussion of any international plan leading to the attainment of these goals; it is also ready to make its diplomatic and political contribution toward halting the bloodshed.

The Foreign Ministry is glad to welcome the initiative for a summit meeting of representatives of the Russia, the United States, and the European Union on the situation in Bosnia, and hopes that a solution to this conflict may be found within the framework of this meeting. The holding of such a meeting in a country in the region in the immediate vicinity of the conflict will constitute a clear signal that the participants in the meeting are ready to commit themselves to an even greater extent to restoring stability, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, the Foreign Ministry statement says in conclusion.

UNPROFOR Withdraws Air Corridor Request*AU2004153894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Command in Zagreb has withdrawn its request for an air corridor over Bulgaria. The wording of the statement gave as the reason the delicate nature of the cargo to be transported. The message was given to the Bulgarian ambassador in Zagreb. According to our reporter Vladislav Stoychev, the news was made known in parliament through Nikolay Slatinski, chairman of the National Security Commission.

I would remind our listeners that prior to this development a letter from the commander of the Blue Helmets addressed to the government was handed over to the Chairman's Council of the National Assembly. The letter requested an air corridor for a Ukrainian aircraft that was to carry Finnish Blue Helmets over the route from Skopje to Helsinki and back.

We have a direct link with our reporter Vladislav Stoychev, who has further information from parliament:

[Stoychev] Regarding the UNPROFOR request for an air corridor over Bulgaria, the parliamentary forces today addressed a question to the Foreign Ministry asking whether similar flights had taken place previously. A short time ago Yunal Lyutfi [spokesman for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms parliamentary group] informed journalists of the preliminary results of the inquiry, received from an unnamed source in the Foreign Ministry. The reply stated that—here I quote—hundreds of violations of Bulgarian airspace have been registered under all the governments formed since the adoption of the present Constitution. [no reference to close of quotation as heard] This evidently refers to flights not approved by the National Assembly, as required under the Constitution. Lyutfi said that at the moment the foreign minister is also carrying out a check on violations of Bulgarian territorial waters.

Matinchev Meets Swedish Foreign Minister*AU1904171794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 19 Apr 94*

[Report by Vanya Manolova]

[Text] Acting Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev had a meeting today with Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas, who is visiting Bulgaria. He highly praised the contribution that Sweden is making within the framework of the Group of 24 to help Bulgaria stabilize its balance of payments and stressed that the relations between the two countries still do not reflect the potential possibilities.

For her part, Ugglas confirmed Sweden's readiness to provide additional financial aid for Bulgaria and its intention to expand trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

Ugglas Ends Visit, Departs*AU2004084994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] The official visit to Bulgaria of Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas has ended. Prior to her departure she assessed the talks she had in Sofia as useful for the future development of bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Sweden and for Bulgaria's integration into European structures.

Slovenia's Kracun Signs Cooperation Agreement*AU2004181194 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Before the Slovene Government delegation ended its visit today, the Bulgarian and Slovene sides signed an economic cooperation agreement and a declaration of the two governments' intention to set up free trade zones in the near future.

With its advanced privatization, stabilized financial system, and 1.5 billion dollars in foreign investments, Slovenia is a reliable partner, it was stressed at the news conference held at the end of the visit. Davorin Kracun, Slovene deputy prime minister and minister of economic relations and development, stressed the two countries' similar interests: Both countries have suffered heavily from the embargo against Serbia, so bilateral cooperation and trade between us, under more liberal conditions, can help to some extent in making up for the lost markets and the shortages that have been caused. Listen now to what Mr. Davorin Kracun had to say:

[Begin recording of Kracun, in English fading into announcer-read Bulgarian report] Industry Minister Bikov and I discussed the possibilities for production-sharing in industry, the Slovene deputy prime minister said. We compared data on the two countries' industrial structures and discovered many prerequisites for corresponding sectors of industry to complement one another. As examples, the leader of the Slovene Government delegation mentioned electronics, engineering, and the food and chemical industries.

Commentary Rejects Turkish 'Blue Helmets'

AU2004114194 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15 Apr 94 p 8

[Commentary by Petur Bochukov: "Corridor—Yes! But It Depends on Its Purpose"]

[Text] It is honorable to act according to your principles when you are poor and depend on others, when you are in debt and cannot make ends meet, and when the pressure from outside is too strong. When you are considered honorable you also gain the esteem of the others, even when moral values deteriorate.

The Bulgarian position on the noninterference of Balkan states in the Yugoslav conflict, repeatedly expressed, is supported by all parliamentary and extraparlimentary forces in Bulgaria. This is an honorable position that not only corresponds to our national interests, but also makes a clear and significant contribution to limiting the war in Bosnia and seeking a peaceful solution through negotiations and mutual concessions on the part of the sides to the conflict, and the European and world forces that stand behind them. Bulgaria also followed a principled position during the Gulf War, sacrificing \$1.5 billion that Baghdad owed us. We did not receive any compensation. Bulgaria acted on the basis of principles, and also took into consideration the requirements of the international community on the issue of sanctions against the rest of Yugoslavia. As a result we lost and continue to lose billions of dollars at a time when our economy faces collapse. Again, we received no compensation.

Now we are subjected to a new pressure. We are required to agree to a corridor through which Turkish "Blue Helmets" will pass on their way to Bosnia. It was explained to us—as Belgian Foreign Minister Willy

Claes did during his recent visit to Bulgaria—that the "Blue Helmets" in question are under the aegis of the UN and that we must free ourselves of our fears and complexes. A Turkish delegation led by Turkish Parliament Speaker Husamettin Cindoruk had a similar mission. It insisted on changing the Bulgarian position on this issue, which is so sensitive against the background of the situation in our region. We do not know whether the delegation returned to Ankara with high hopes. At present Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller is visiting Washington where she needs Clinton's support for her new economic program and for sending the Turkish "Blue Helmets" to Bosnia. Let us recall that she herself visited Bosnia, together with Benazir Bhutto, to express the Islamic world's support of the Bosnia Muslims. Let us also recall that the decision of the UN Security Council on including Turkish "Blue Helmets" among the UN peace troops also was adopted under the strong and continuous pressure of the United States and Turkey. Finally, let us remember that the Islam fundamentalists of the Welfare Party registered brilliant successes at last month's municipal elections and now the mayors of Istanbul, Ankara, and many other Turkish cities belong to this party.

It is logical that Turkey's next step, in which Islam plays such an important role, should be aimed at strengthening its military presence to the east of Edirne. This could be achieved most easily by establishing a presence in Bosnia. For this a corridor through Bulgaria is necessary. The United States already has begun relevant psychological conditioning. At a meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Todor Churov, U.S. Ambassador William Montgomery requested a transit corridor for a one-time transportation of UN military and other equipment. It is intended for a new contingent of U.S. "Blue Helmets" in Macedonia, who will be transported by air. The equipment will be transported to Bulgaria by train from the Netherlands, through Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Romania. The one-time use of a transit corridor for UN needs does not contradict our legislation and conforms to our commitments based on Article 43 of the UN Charter. In addition, sending an additional contingent of 200 "Blue Helmets" to Macedonia is in the interest of all Balkan states, because it is a preventive measure against the spread of the Bosnia conflict.

It is natural for Bulgaria to provide a transit corridor for UN military equipment. However, our leaders must first answer the following question: Why was this equipment not transported by air, as was the case with the first contingent of 300 U.S. "Blue Helmets" in Macedonia, and is the present U.S. request not a prologue to a request for a corridor for the transportation of Turkish "Blue Helmets" through Bulgaria's territory or by air? If the answer to this question is negative, the Bulgarian Government could agree to providing the transit corridor requested by Ambassador Montgomery.

The Americans cannot and do not want to understand our sensitivity and justified concern regarding the Turkish military presence in the Balkans. Perhaps this is

so because their colonial ruler came from a different continent, or perhaps their current strategic interests are related to the expansion of their most loyal ally in the vast space between China and the Adriatic? Regardless of what their motives are, they contradict Bulgarian interests. Therefore, despite the fact that we are in the midst of a crisis and encounter grave difficulties, we have no other choice except to behave in a worthy manner, defend our independence and sovereignty, and sustain our principled position. Every retreat from this position is tantamount to treason.

Commentary Ridicules Observance of FRY Embargo

*AU2104085494 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
18 Apr 94 p 8*

[Commentary by Lazar Tomov: "Poor and Obedient"]

[Text] In the last two or three years, willingly or not, Bulgaria was dragged into two world-scale embargo operations. Both were imposed on us by the United Nations. We, as exemplary schoolgirls, unconditionally agreed to observe the world order and discipline. For this obedience we have received so far pats on the back and promises for the future, but not a single cent of compensation. This was the situation during the embargo against Iraq, which owes us almost \$2 billion, and this is the situation now with the Yugo-embargo. Despite the fact that the UN observers accuse us of violating the embargo, it has already become clear that again we are the most obedient ones. Our obedience borders on stupidity, because while we export gasoline with bicycles or get involved in chicken-feed affairs, the Western states do not waste their time. Let us remember that time is money, especially in time of war.

Recently it was revealed that during 1992-93 alone the countries involved in the Yugo-conflict received significant quantities of weapons. The suppliers were Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, and a prominent French company that specializes in the production of arms. Through (un)known ways "humanitarian" shipments reached the borders of former Yugoslavia. They contained almost 1,200 Stringer and Armarbrust anti-aircraft missiles, 120 T-72 tanks, 155-mm. howitzers, tens of thousands of automatic rifles, hand grenades, ammunition, and much more. While the Western companies amassed profits, our native parliament representatives nag each other even over absolutely unfounded embargo violation accusations. This is understandable to a certain degree. Since we destroyed our arms industry, economy, and agriculture, nothing is left to us but obedience accompanied by requests to compensate the losses caused by the embargo. According to some calculations those losses amount to \$6-8 billion. Thus, in observing the embargo Bulgaria is losing real money, which it badly needs, especially now. It must be remembered that even if we receive a little something in the future, this will be something we have already spent in

advance, and will have to return anyway to various pacifists and peacemakers with interest.

DPS Council Demands Cabinet Changes

AU2004054994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] The DPS [Movement for Rights and Freedoms] wants [Transportation] Minister Kiril Ermenkov, [Agriculture] Minister Georgi Tanev, and Forestry Committee Chairman Khristo Todorov to be replaced. Our reporter Mariya Tsankova obtained this information from unofficial sources before the end of today's session of the DPS Central Council.

According to information from within the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], the Socialists are calling for the replacement of Ministers Karabashev, Bikov, and Valentin Aleksandrov [of trade, industry and defense]; the New Alliance for Democracy reportedly wanted one of their number appointed foreign minister.

At today's Central Council meeting, Kadir Kadir proposed Khristo Totev for deputy prime minister if there is a cabinet reshuffle. The DPS maintained its view on the need for a major government reshuffle, but declares that if the cabinet falls it will join in the lottery for distributing candidates for cabinet posts between the parliamentary political forces.

According to BTA, DPS leader Ahmed Dogan said after his meeting with Lyuben Berov that the prime minister was in excellent health. Professor Berov has still not reached a final decision on possible cabinet changes. Everything is at the stage of taking soundings in the parliamentary groups, but by the end of the week he will probably have formed a clear idea on structural changes, Dogan said.

Kozloduy Chief Discusses Funding Problems

*AU1804124794 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
15 Apr 94 p 6*

[Interview with Kuzma Kuzmanov, director of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, by Veselka Damyanova; place and date not given: "Our Country Has the Potential to Protect Its First Nuclear Power Plant, Kozloduy Director Kuzmanov Thinks"]

[Text] [Damyanova] Why did you say the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant will close soon?

[Kuzmanov] It will be inevitable if we are not given the money we need to maintain the plant. I am not speaking about investment, simply about funds for maintenance. I do not even mean the funds needed to implement the plant's safety program. If we are not given the resources we need, we will have to close down Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

[Damyanova] What is the basic source of funds for Kozloduy?

[Kuzmanov] The basic source is the National Electricity Company, from which we receive revenue (for consumed energy). Special measures must be adopted because it is the power supply issue that is involved here and we must receive the funds we need. In addition to money for maintenance, we also need money to develop the plant—this involves investments. These must be pegged to inflation in order to ensure a proportional increase. I could understand a difference of 6, 8, or 10 percent, but when investment is not coordinated with the inflation coefficient then the situation becomes dangerous.

[Damyanova] You also receive help from the West....

[Kuzmanov] In fact, we receive a fixed amount of aid on the basis of an agreement between the government and the European Development fund. This is gratuitous aid for increasing safety and the conditions of exploitation, which in 1993 amounted to 12 million francs [currency not further specified]. It has been increased to 20 million francs for the next three years. Obviously, this aid is significant, but not decisive. The money we receive from the National Electricity Company is decisive.

[Damyanova] Who else could help?

[Kuzmanov] I think that our country has sufficient potential and could protect its nuclear power plant, but there is no one to decide the issue.... We cannot allow the power plant to continue to be exploited under the existing conditions.

[Damyanova] Does the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant continue to be an evil myth for some people, as you once told KONTINENT?

[Kuzmanov] I said this in the past because certain circles are trying to present the nuclear power plant precisely in this light. I meant that several years ago the Western politicians turned Kozloduy into an evil myth. However, we showed the world that we can implement measures and improve conditions. We showed that the reactors about which it was said that they cannot function, could function after we obtained the appropriate permission from the relevant organs.

[Damyanova] Your colleague Delcasso said that if the problem Kozloduy faces at present happened in France, the relevant minister would immediately resign....

[Kuzmanov] He even said that he could be imprisoned for something like this....

[Damyanova] Do you have many problems?

[Kuzmanov] Yes, there are a lot of problems in Kozloduy, and let us not even mention the problems Bulgaria faces as a whole. However, there is an unwritten rule: always to follow closely the situation in every branch. Otherwise, you know very well what could happen if we had to close down Kozloduy.

[Damyanova] Who is interested in closing the plant?

[Kuzmanov] I do not want to comment on this issue. The most important thing for us is to receive what we are entitled to.

Nationalist Leader Cited on Contacts, Border

AU2004140194 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian
15 Apr 94 p 8

[Interview with Dr. Ivan Georgiev, "leader of the Bulgarian National Radical Party," by Magdalina Andonova; place and date not given: "We Are the Alternative That Scares Rulers"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Andonova] You use the concept of "denationalization" in your program. With what means will you struggle against it?

[Georgiev] I will answer you with an example. The Bulgarians in Aegean Thrace are called Slavonic Hellenics?! One of the ways we maintain contact with them is through the historical literature we bring there. This literature indicates their roots to them. We will attract this population by improving their economic prosperity and then they will strive to come closer to us. If we succeed to bring down the border barriers and create appropriate social conditions we will perhaps be able to bring them back to the bosom of the Bulgarian nation. In Germany for example, the authorities pay for the social security of their immigrants.

[Andonova] In anything related to foreign policy you use the principle "good is what is good for Bulgaria." Do you often read Machiavelli?

[Georgiev] Yes, I have read "The Prince," but this is not what we mean. If we, nationalists, do not unite Bulgaria we will perish. We are not like the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Union of Democratic Forces, which could transport their interests outside the borders of our country. We need an economic and spiritual upsurge. It is well-known that no one likes the weak ones.

[Andonova] With what foreign parties do you maintain contacts?

[Georgiev] Jean-Marie Le Pen invited me to visit France. Their delegation will visit us in September. We are in contact with Haider's party in Austria, Paradzik's Human Rights Party in Croatia, and the Italian Alliance—all of them nationalistic parties. We also have close relations with Zhirinovskiy's party—we have an agreement to help each other at difficult moments, and in addition, our programs are similar. [passage omitted]

[Andonova] Do you intend to amend your style of behavior? Do you not insert hysteria in our society, which even without this has grave problems?

[Georgiev] The times are changing and so are the categories. No one has the moral right to blame a dying person who is trying to save himself. In some regions, for example in the Rhodopes and the Ludogorie, the people think that I am too meek and should be firmer. Against

the background of this economic destruction the Bulgarians in some regions, Yakoruda for example, directly face a genocide. In those regions the people prefer only the Bulgarian National Radical Party. What about the burning of the Bulgarian national flag? The Bulgarian authorities keep silent about this sacrilege and do nothing. This fact speaks of the lack of a Bulgarian sovereignty. We do not have organs which could protect the property and dignity of the Bulgarians. [passage omitted]

[Andonova] What do you think the current Bulgarian borders should be?

[Georgiev] From the ethnic and historical points of view we are entitled to an additional 127,000 square km—up to the Albanian mountains. More than half of Bulgaria is outside our borders.

[Andonova] When do you think you will come to power?

[Georgiev] We will form our government in the 38th National Assembly. The people want to get rid of everything that makes them feel inferior and unneeded. Nationalism is one of the alternatives. We have a very simple formula—a rich nation in a rich state.

Klaus Answers Questions on Political Issues

AU2004171694 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
15 Apr 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova; place and date not given: "Some Parties Are Playing False Cards"]

[Text] [Martinkova] In your view, what is the objective of the Litomysl meeting of presidents?

[Klaus] This provides yet another means of communication with neighboring countries. We desire this communication, we are striving for it, and we are pleased that it is going to happen. Moreover, the meeting has another important aspect—breaking down the incessant polarization of the world into West and East. The fact that the presidents of Austria and Germany will also be there is, I think, a step in the right direction.

[Martinkova] In the wake of Wednesday's [13 April] government session, do the ambiguities within the coalition over the jurisdiction of the higher territorial units still persist?

[Klaus] There is no fundamental dispute among the coalition parties in the actual issue of jurisdiction. When we begin to discuss whether the new regions may conclude international treaties or announce their own taxes or smog alert levels, or build their own theaters or galleries, any overpoliticized dispute will evaporate. The government coalition ministers, in closed ranks, are looking for ways to define jurisdiction. The problems lie somewhere else. In the political game, that is being played beyond the matter-of-fact element of this issue.

I repeat: This is not a matter-of-fact dispute. Some parties are still pulling false cards from their sleeves. I would hope that they do not play with them.

[Martinkova] The unemployment rate in the Czech Republic is one of the lowest in the world. Apparently, only Luxembourg, Japan, and New Zealand are doing better. Nevertheless, the government is often the target of criticism because of this. Can we in the Czech Republic talk about false employment, employment that interferes with natural economic relations?

[Klaus] Unemployment in our country is the way it is; no one is holding it back or speeding it up. Each month the government awaits with anticipation the figures on its movement, without in any way attempting to manipulate it. Its low level is a major success, which, on the other hand, is the subject of various worst-case scenarios and elaborations on the artificial curbing of unemployment. What I mean is the criticism from some economists from the postcommunist countries. However, even Western states are a little envious of our low unemployment rate. The current level is a consequence of our economy's exceptionally high absorption capability. For example, in the Louny District, where the unemployment level is one of the highest—it is touching 8 percent—there are about 3,000 unemployed. However,

three years ago, 7,000 people lost their jobs due to the collapse of the large agricultural enterprises. Where are they? In new jobs.

[Martinkova] You say that the enterprise sphere is the trade unionists' domain, not collective bargaining at the macroeconomic level. The Maastricht Treaty, however, even takes into consideration supranational collective bargaining within the framework of the European Union.

[Klaus] I have never made a secret of my criticism of the Maastricht Treaty. The social democratic authors who participated in drafting it have left their mark in certain points. The social sphere is one of them.

Commentary Criticizes Defense Minister Baudys

AU2104114494 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
13 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by Katerina Perknerova: "Baudys's Palm Reading"]

[Text] In mid-February, Defense Minister Antonin Baudys (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party) refused to share a discussion table with former Minister Vacek in the television studio. He justified this fact by saying that, when Vacek was minister, only the Army's symbols were being repainted, but the Army had not been transformed. According to Baudys, only under his leadership has the transformation of the Army begun. The key question is what our idea about transformation is. It is certain, however, that the defense minister intends to present a long-term transformation project in the summer—one and a half years after his assuming office. From this viewpoint, the thing is clear. We should present some figures, however: The Czech Republic Army had 92,599 job positions on 1 January. According to experts, the optimum number should be 65,000 soldiers. Since 1990, 777 units have been abolished; of these, 132 were abolished last year. A total of 187 units have been newly established. The Air Force discontinued its operations at seven airports. A total of 6,594 people left the Army in 1993; of these, 4,303 were officers and 20 generals. According to Baudys, this not the right time for personnel changes....

Mr. Fejfar (Civic Democratic Party), a member of the Defense and Security Committee, said in an interview for RUDE PRAVO in February that, "in the three most recent years, almost nothing has changed in the Army." At the recent meeting in Harrachov, he even stressed that, if the positions of platoon, unit, and troop commanders are not filled (only 35 to 40 percent of these positions are filled), "the Army may face collapse." J. Pospisil, Baudys's deputy and Fejfar's party colleague, is rejecting this catastrophic vision, but he, too, believes that the Army is losing between 150 and 200 competent officers, who do not believe in the prospects of the military profession. The Czech Republic Army has reached the figures planned for 1996. We are not going to

comment on Baudys's idea that colonels and lieutenant-colonels should take over the positions of warrant officers.

I see today's situation in the following way: Fearing more screenings, personnel purges, and similar Baudys's actions, professional soldiers who have been in service for a long time are taking the first opportunity to leave the Army for civilian life. Fejfar is convinced that this applies not solely to former political instructors and military counterintelligence but also to expert professionals—for instance, elite pilots. Young people are not eager to join the Army because no one can tell them in which direction the Army will develop.

Baudys's being in darkness as a minister has its effect on the Army, too. Having no concept for transformation, he cannot tell the Czech factories what orders the Army will place. It is quite possible that he does not realize that the development of a new tank takes not several months but years. He believes that the purely professional Rapid Deployment Brigade is an important transformation step. This brigade should be established on 1 July. Foreign military experts believe that such a short time is unrealistic for training the brigade.

Baudys believes that it is alarming that cases of wounding soldiers, of even death cases, are on the rise. He assured us, however, that he gave the task to General Staff Commander Nekvasil to adopt efficient measures.

The problem is that no simple order can solve the problem of the decomposition of our Army. If the training is at minimum, pilots do not fly the necessary number of hours, there is disorder in Army units, and military material is being stolen (the Defense Ministry registered 3,500 cases of illegal activity by soldiers). Then no wonder accidents resulting in death are on the rise, too.

If Baudys says, in view of this bad situation, that the basic transformation of the Army will be completed in 1995 and the Czech Republic Army will be prepared to join NATO, this seems like palm reading to me, which the minister demonstrated in a television show directed by Simek, rather than a realistic evaluation of the prospects of the Czech Republic Army.

BIS Chief Pleased With Bill Amendments

*AU2004135494 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech
14 Apr 94 pp 1-2*

[Interview with Stanislav Devaty, security and information service director, by Jiri Stastny; place and date not given: "The Security and Information Service Is Satisfied With Control"]

[Text] The parliamentary Defense and Security Committee debated the government bill on the Security and Information Service [BIS] on 13 April. This bill should regulate the status of BIS members, the utilization of

intelligence-gathering devices, and the BIS status and its control. After the debate, we asked interim BID Director Stanislav Devaty:

[Stastny] The majority of the amendments provide you with more powers than the draft bill you have presented. Why were you so restricted when drafting your bill?

[Devaty] When we worked on our draft, we based our considerations strictly on the Principles for the Law on Intelligence Services. Our draft has undergone a very rigorous vetting procedure. BIS welcomes the changes, of course, because they allow us to work better.

[Stastny] Are you satisfied with the fact that BIS is under the control of parliament?

[Devaty] I welcome any kind of control. This protects me as well. For instance, when I am attacked in the press, I can address this control body and demand that this problem be sorted out. In my opinion, the parliamentary committee should control all BIS activities because it is responsible for them. A separate law will define what will be in parliament's jurisdiction.

[Stastny] How do you view volunteers for cooperation with BIS, and what is their role in the fight against organized crime?

[Devaty] The basic requirement is the will to cooperate. There is no other alternative. Cooperation with those people is one of the methods being used by all of the secret services all over the world. In some instances, if we want to penetrate into the structures of organized crime, this cooperation becomes indispensable.

[Stastny] The Interior Ministry has initiated tougher procedures against various extremist groups. Is BIS also preparing a similar step?

[Devaty] Of course, our service also deals with such problems and closely cooperates with the police. Unlike the police, however, we do not have executive powers; therefore, we pass all of our information on these groups to them. I believe we have done enough in this sphere; therefore, we are not planning further steps.

[Stastny] In what spheres do you cooperate with the police, specifically?

[Devaty] We cooperate with them when working on specific cases. Important information—about organized crime, for instance—is passed on to police departments that deal with them. Then, we can take steps like we did in the Buontempo case. Our service can ask the police for cooperation, and vice versa.

Tamara Maker Developing More Advanced System

AU2004180594 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by "(km)": "HTT, the Manufacturer of Tamara, Is Developing a More Advanced Passive Radar"]

[Text] Prague—Tesla Pardubice HTT, manufacturer of the Tamara passive radar, which, according to experts, can reveal even the "invisible" U.S. Stealth reconnaissance aircraft, is developing a more advanced new-generation passive radar. This information has been confirmed by Chief of the General Staff Major General Jiri Nekvasil.

Representatives from the Pardubice-based enterprise, however, do not want to divulge anything about this new system, which should be called Borap. "We will not discuss the things under research; they are taboo," declared Rudolf Barak, president of the HTT Group company. Nevertheless, he indicated that special enhancements to the current Tamara system are involved.

Tamara can reveal aircraft against which current radar systems are ineffective. It is similar to the U.S. AWACS early warning system. However, as opposed to active radar systems, which emit radio waves and assess their reflection, Tamara only receives radio impulses from the atmosphere.

So far, the Army has refused to purchase more Tamara systems for its arsenal because it is waiting for the completion of the more advanced system. The Defense Ministry currently has at its disposal one Tamara radar and two of its antecedents, the Ramona system.

Complete Rehabilitation of Soldiers Sought

AU2004142594 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 18 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by Josef Maraczi: "Some 18,000 Soldiers Were Persecuted"]

[Text] On Saturday [16 April], a declaration was issued at the nationwide conference of the Military Association of the Rehabilitated (VSR), whose members are soldiers persecuted for political reasons between 1948 to 1989. In the declaration, there is a statement that care for the rehabilitated soldiers, retired soldiers, and widows of professional soldiers, plus assistance in building a modern army of our democratic and sovereign state, are the goals of this social organization.

The number of soldiers and civilian employees of the Military Administration who were persecuted for political reasons between 25 February 1948 and 1989 is about

18,000. They are officers, warrant officers, and others. Some of them were even executed or emigrated from the country. After November 1989, some 11,000 applications for rehabilitation were submitted. The Central Rehabilitation Commission found 2,000 cases to be unfounded. A total of 9,000 people were rehabilitated.

The VSR associates 3,826 members in 81 organizations. Josef Svab, commander of the Military Hospital in Olomouc, was elected new chairman of the association at a conference on Saturday. In his speech, he said that, in view of his profession and the age of the members of the association, he considers his main task to be solving the social and health problems of the rehabilitated soldiers. In the social sphere, the association wants to push for the completion of the rehabilitation of people persecuted for political reasons in the 1950's and 1970's.

The association also wants to put legal responsibility on the officers who participated in the preparation of repressive actions of the communist regime, such as "Norbert", "Vlna", and "Zasah" [cover names for actions conducted by former State Security], and the suppression of the 1969 demonstration commemorating 21 August [anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion]. In cooperation with parliamentary deputies and the Defense and Security Committee, the association is interested in drafting new legal documents applicable to the Army, and a consistent implementation of democratic changes in the Army.

Some participants in the meeting have shown dissatisfaction over the absence of Defense Minister Baudys, who did not excuse himself. Jiri Nekvasil, General Staff commander of the Czech Army, was also criticized, mainly because of the letter he had sent to the meeting and that was described as offensive by the participants. This applies mainly to the passage in his letter in which he said that he would not participate in the meeting because "our ideas about the activity of your civilian association with respect to the Army of the Czech Republic differ." Commander Nekvasil also said in the letter that "he cannot accept the idea that some members of the association are trying to establish a separate group of soldiers within the Army." However, he appreciated the activity of those who contribute, using their experience, to the fulfillment of the current tasks of the Czech Army.

The participants in Saturday's meeting are writing a letter to Nekvasil in which they express surprise at the fact that no representative from the Defense Ministry or the General Staff took part in the conference, despite the fact that the association is interested in cooperating with both bodies. "A difference of opinion alone should not be a reason for a negative stance of the Army command toward our association and activity," the letter by people who were persecuted by the communist regime and rehabilitated after November 1989 states.

Radio Chief Halts 'Sign of Thought' Program

LD2004104694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] The deputy chairman of Hungarian Radio [Laszlo Csucs] has terminated the program "Sign of Thought." According to a report by PESTI HIRLAP, Laszlo Csucs explained his decision by stating that the editors of the Sunday cultural program—Gabor Ocsovai, Miklos Gyoeffy, and Julia Varadi—have been producing programs which were biased and have incited passions.

The deputy chairman expressed the view that the producers of the last edition did not adhere to even the most elementary ethical requirements. In Laszlo Csucs's judgment, further experimentation would be an abuse of the patience of the audience, and although the radio's cultural weekly was still needed, it would be produced not by the current staff and probably not under its current name.

Four Liberal Parties Begin Coalition Talks

LD2004142894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Party program coordination talks have started between the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], Fidesz [Federation of Young Democrats], the Agrarian Alliance, and the Party of Entrepreneurs to lay the foundation for a coalition after the elections. This was announced at the news conference of the Agrarian Alliance. Laszlo Gardai reports:

[Gardai] I am sincerely sorry that the election campaign is not what it ought to be, the campaign chief of the Agrarian Alliance said. He considered to be news only the information from the various parties about who concludes a coalition with whom, but party programs were not aired sufficiently. There is no forum for a true show of colors, because, for example, the three-and-a-half-minute speeches on television on Tuesdays and Thursdays [party political broadcasts] are meaningless and instead of these, debates should be staged. [passage omitted]

The spokesperson for the party, (Klara Spirak), announced that four-party coordination has begun with the participation of the SZDSZ, Fidesz, the Party of Entrepreneurs, and the Agrarian Alliance on the economic, agricultural, education, and public security programs.

The Agrarian Alliance also signed a cooperation agreement with the Green Alternative and the cochairperson [not further identified] voiced her criticism that during the past four years no sensible law was adopted on environment protection. If the Agrarian Alliance gets into parliament, it will ensure that environmental protection is given a much greater role.

Party Officials View Election Prospects

MDF's Lajos Fur

AU2104102594 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Apr 94 p 5

["CS.N.L."-signed interview with Hungarian Democratic Forum Chairman Lajos Fur; place and date not given: "Most of the Issues Will Be Decided Between the Two Election Rounds"]

[Text] Lajos Fur, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], thinks that a cooperation of divided national-commitment forces is impossible until the first round of the upcoming elections. Lajos Fur thinks that most issues will be decided between the two rounds of elections. He hopes that the uncertain voters will eventually vote for the MDF.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Many people say today that the MDF remained alone before the elections also because it deviated from the spirit of Lakitelek. Do you think this is true?

[Fur] If we look at the Lakitelek documents, it transpires that we have not deviated from any of the statements. It was clear at the time too that we did not call for radical changes, but we were for a gradual reform policy to avoid a radical change.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Then why are these accusations repeatedly coming up?

[Fur] There can be individual offense or unfulfilled ambitions behind this, or even the fact that some people imagined something else behind the concepts and not what they really cover. I am convinced that the things formulated at Lakitelek are being carried out. Naturally, the best ideas do not appear crystal clear in everyday politics.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] People with a national commitment find it difficult to accept that the political forces committed to national values are so much divided that they almost lack a chance. While their opponents created election alliances, the forces that call themselves national forces are divided and present everywhere, from the MDF and up to the tiny extremist parties, on the political arena.

[Fur] Unfortunately, this is true, and it is very sad. The situation is similar to the one prevailing in Poland, where the national forces are scattered. I can only guess the reason behind this. National feelings appear in many different ways in the political thinking. Of course, the liberal and leftist blocs are also split. In the case of nationally-committed parties, individual groups emerged more spectacularly. This is not a positive development, because if many people vote for these small parties, the national forces will lose many votes.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Have you already made any attempts to create unity?

[Fur] This is impossible until the first round of elections, but one cannot tell what will happen between the two rounds, because it is obvious that most of the issues will be decided between the two rounds.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] According to some opinion polls, the national and liberal parties, as well as the leftist parties, enjoy one-third of the votes each. At the same time, the trenches are very deep and an increasing number of people fear that it will be difficult to form a government.

[Fur] If I look at those who already decided to vote and also decided whom to vote for, these percentages generally reflect the truth. We also enjoy the support of at least 3 million voters who have not yet decided even whether

to go to vote at all. If this 40 percent can be mobilized, this might upset the forecasts and change the uncertain situation in our favor.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Is it not strange that the least politically-informed people will decide on the elections results?

[Fur] They are also citizens of this country, only that they are not interested in the political life.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Political analysts often say that the fact that you constantly warn the citizens of a leftist danger only increases the socialists' popularity.

[Fur] I do not think that our warning awoke the citizens' leftist attraction. The measurable sociological factors that induce the fear of a possible leftist danger can also be scientifically demonstrated. In my opinion, in such a situation, we can defeat the leftist danger if we try to draw the people's attention to this and win over the uncertain voters.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In that case, this is only a power that lasts for one cycle. The fact that you are present on the political arena signals that this is not a real danger.

[Fur] There are people who claim that this danger will only last one year, because they will not be able to govern after that. In my opinion, there is greater danger in such a turn, because the economy and the political mood will improve in the immediate future because they will not be able to spoil completely everything we have done so far. But there is a danger in the leftist method prone to administrative measures, namely that they will rebuild their own power with such a determination that it will not leave any scope for the other forces. However, this is only a supposition.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] With whom would you be willing to hold coalition talks?

[Fur] This will be the most difficult thing. And not only for us. Many people ask whether it is enough for the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] to form a coalition with [Workers Party chairman] Thurmer to set up a socialist government. Will Horn's left wing talk to the Workers Party at all? How will a social-liberal coalition disintegrate the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]? We have natural allies, the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] and the Smallholders' Party. I do not think that it is possible to hold coalition talks with Torgyan's smallholders. With Csurka's party? I cannot envisage this either. With Pozsgay? They call themselves both leftist and national. Who is left?

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] The Federation of Young Democrats calls itself a national liberal party.

[Fur] The big question is what results they will achieve in the elections. It is good if they call themselves national and exclude the possibility of a coalition with the MSZP. But their chairman speaks lightly of the MDF and the government; if they continue to do this, I do not know if there is any basis of cooperation.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] A lot of concern has been formulated here in the course of our discussion. Are you optimistic?

[Fur] Yes, I am. Stalemate is the worst thing in politics. I hope that at least 1.5 million of the uncertain citizens will go to vote. They are the quiet and balanced people in

private life and in the local public life who cannot give their votes to anyone else but to a balanced and sober national center party.

Young Democrats' Viktor Orban

AU2004175394 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in
Hungarian 20 Apr 94 p 5

[Interview with Viktor Orban, chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Attila Farkas; place and date not given: "Party Interests Should Not Have Priority Over the Interests of the Bourgeois Center"]

[Text] In our series with heads of various political parties, Orban Viktor, chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz], speaks about the chances of the liberal center, including the chances of his party.

[Orban] I see the bloc of liberal parties to become increasingly stronger, and I do not attribute importance to the occasional excessive statements. The chairmen of the four liberal parties agreed on the strategy to be followed until the elections. From the experiences of presenting candidates, the four parties representing the bourgeois center force came to the conclusion that, together, they have a good chance to get more than half of the mandates. Therefore, it has no sense to think of a social-liberal coalition.

[Farkas] Have the chairmen of the four party agreed on this?

[Orban] The party chairmen agreed to use all their power to gain 50 percent of the votes, and they are advancing to a relevant political strategy. I do not know who denies what, but I think that we need time for this position to infiltrate the parties. The Fidesz is in an better position in the sense that the party presidium decided on the political strategy to follow on coalition matters before the four-party meeting, and this strategy is identical with those of the four parties.

[Farkas] There is often suspicion coming from the Fidesz and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] that the SZDSZ is approaching the socialists, while the other side is accusing you of "flirting" with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Could this lead to a split between the two leading parties of the liberal bloc?

[Orban] In principle, it could. But, in my opinion, this debate is over now. In the course of our talks held last week, we accepted the guidelines to be mutually followed and, in my view, this satisfies both the Fidesz and the SZDSZ.

[Farkas] At the relevant news conference, the Agrarian Federation, the Fidesz, and the Entrepreneurs' Party rejected the ideas of excluding the social-liberal coalition, but later SZDSZ leaders denied that this issue was on the agenda....

[Orban] Everyone says what he wants. Journalists were present at that news conference and they were able to hear everything; therefore, it is useless to make something out of this after the event. We said everything at that news conference and, in my opinion, the correct formulation was that there is no longer sense in thinking about a social-liberal coalition.

[Farkas] In your statements made in recent weeks, you clearly excluded the possibility of a Fidesz-Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] coalition. It seems, however, that your scope of maneuvering is smaller than that of your party. To what extent is this opinion different from that of the leading bodies of the Fidesz? Can one interpret this difference as a strategic split?

[Orban] This cannot be regarded as a strong difference, and I do not intend to step in the background or to resign at all. I have a clear opinion on how to solve Hungary's economic crisis. I argue in favor of this opinion and I hope that I will have a majority within the party.

[Farkas] What if the cooperation of the four liberal parties does not work after all?

[Orban] I do not know. In my opinion, we have no other choice, and this should be clear both to the SZDSZ and the Fidesz, as well as to the other two parties. These parties got into one camp not only through their identical programs but also through their common political interests, because every other form of cooperation only creates worse chances. This is particularly sensitive regarding the SZDSZ and the Fidesz, because these two parties were the most radical anti-communist parties four years ago, and we confronted daily those people who are still heading the MSZP. If we did this four years ago, it is impossible to be with them in a coalition. One cannot make such a turn, because the Hungarian public would not forgive us. This is equal to a situation in which a party wipes itself off the domestic political palette, and we must accept this.

[Farkas] It has often been said that "the four years have been nice, we have learned a lot, but now we want to be part of the government...." Do you see a chance for that? If not, will the Fidesz be able to stand four more years in opposition?

[Orban] I see chances, and this originates from the fact that the four bourgeois parties succeeded in presenting candidates. Regarding the Fidesz, I think we are moving forward, because we have gone through tests in the past four years, tests that every party can only handle with difficulty.

[Farkas] On what do you base your optimism?

[Orban] Opinion polls and the gathering of nomination slips show this. I think that the sympathy toward the policy represented by us is increasing and our prestige in the society is growing. We said last year that one should think in terms of a liberal center, and not in terms of a social-liberal coalition. We were accused a lot because of this, and we even lost several battles, but winning the final battle is very near. Now we must not fail and put party interests above the interests of the bourgeois center....

[Farkas] A real war of messages has evolved between you and Gyula Horn. It seems that you appear most frequently in the declarations of the MSZP chairman, and not necessarily in a positive light....

[Orban] This is not surprising. It was the same before. After a temporary fallback, Gyula Horn and his party found their old voice. Their voice resembles the tone flowing toward the Fidesz in 1988 and 1989. They spoke

to us so aggressively and accusingly after 16 June 1989. In my opinion, every manifestation of the MSZP, including their videoclips, tones, and statements, speak about revenge, and this is their message to everyone, and especially to us. This tone is not new; I got used to this after 16 June 1989. The Fidesz did not get scared at that time either; nor do we think that we will get scared now.

MIEP Cochairman Lajos Horvath

AU2004143594 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Apr 94 p 7

[Interview with Lajos Horvath, cochairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, by Lajos Pogonyi; place and date not given: "The Proof of the Pudding Is in the Eating in Politics Too"]

[Text] [Pogonyi] Several leaders of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP], including Istvan Csurka, said recently that, against the left and the liberals, you are ready to make peace with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], a party that is prone to shift to the left sometimes.

[Horvath] What the MDF did in its government activity helped the left and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] to come into their own. The Marxists who used to castigate private property before, became capitalists and large-scale land owners under the MDF government.

[Pogonyi] I do not understand. You mean they became large-scale land owners?

[Horvath] Yes, by purchasing huge areas in the course of the compensation process. On the basis of their acts, we must say that the MDF-government also served the interests of the left. We now expect the MDF to give up this activity, and then we might be able to talk to each other.

[Pogonyi] I heard and saw in one of the political film clips of the MIEP recently that your party is the one that is consistently carrying out the Lakitelek program.

[Horvath] We would like to suggest by this that we accepted the third way, the national solution.

[Pogonyi] Is the "leftist and liberal danger" so big in Hungary that you are ready to reconcile with the MDF?

[Horvath] I do not think that this would be a reconciliation between the MIEP and the MDF. The matter is that the leftist and liberal bloc is our common enemy, a bloc that perhaps does not have so much chance in the elections as it tries to project. In any case, they are greater enemies of the MIEP than the MDF or other national parties.

[Pogonyi] If I am correct, Peter Boross said recently that the MDF would not form a coalition with the MIEP in any circumstances....

[Horvath] I do not know if he formulated this so firmly. We would not form a coalition with today's MDF either. In other words, if this is the way the present MDF is talking about us, we do not see anything special in this.

[Pogonyi] Your faction colleague in Parliament, Janos Denes, said recently that cosmopolitan liberalism is an

ugly twin of communism. Please comment on this statement. What should we understand by this?

[Horvath] There is a very interesting American writer who wrote a book entitled "The Uncovered Capitalist." In its introduction, the author states that the communist conspiracy is only a tiny part of the global conspiracy. His arguments are quite convincing to me. The new world order tried to infiltrate the cells of Eastern Europe through Marxist internationalism. It failed, and now it is trying a different approach.

[Pogonyi] So it is not true what Peter Boross claims, namely that while the elections will be decided between the MDF and the MSZP, the liberal parties will fall off.

[Horvath] Although I cannot predict things the way Mr Boross can, but there is no problem whatsoever with the liberals. There are huge differences between the liberals.

[Pogonyi] For example?

[Horvath] There is a big difference between real liberalism and sham-liberalism.

[Pogonyi] Could you give an example of the latter?

[Horvath] For example, the present SZDSZ is such a pseudo liberal party which openly flirts with the old system and the communist and socialist parties. However, there is a tiny amount of liberalism in which we can find at least the seeds of national liberalism.

[Pogonyi] Are you perhaps talking about the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz]?

[Horvath] Yes, about the Fidesz.

[Pogonyi] If I recall correctly, the Fidesz has only been lately claiming to be a nationally committed party and a moderately liberal, center-like people's party.

[Horvath] Yes, but all this sounds more genuine since the well-known personnel changes that have taken place in the party. Of course, the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

[Pogonyi] Speaking about the pudding and eating, will the MIEP get the 5 percent necessary for making it into Parliament?

[Horvath] Yes, it will. Regarding the number of voters, we succeeded in presenting lists in two-thirds of the country. We have a total of 70 individual candidates and 12 territorial lists.

[Pogonyi] What is your opinion about the fact that Izabella B. Kiraly's Hungarian Interest Party is almost nowhere before the elections?

[Horvath] I was quite certain about this.

[Pogonyi] And now a little about foreign policy: Istvan Csurka rejoiced at the victory of the Forza Italia in the Italian elections. In your opinion, will this be a lasting delight?

[Horvath] We do not yet know what kind of force the Forza Italia represents, but we do know that it occupies a position in Italian politics similar to our position in Hungarian politics. Istvan Csurka and I signed the telegram in which we greeted them. We regard the Forza Italia as a force that firmly opposes the left and rejects the half-heartedness of the center parties.

[Pogonyi] Were you offended by Zhirinovskiy's failure to invite you to the congress of his Liberal Democratic Party?

[Horvath] Zhirinovskiy and his party invited everyone, including the MDF and even Izabella B. Kiraly. We not only refrained from replying to him but also refrained from publishing the invitation in the press.

[Pogonyi] Why? It might have been unpleasant?

[Horvath] We consider the whole thing to be irresponsible. We regard Zhirinovskiy as a dangerous politician of unclear roots, who is famous for his scandals, and not for his wisdom.

[Pogonyi] An obligatory concluding question: With what party would the MIEP form a coalition?

[Horvath] Regarding its political commitment, the Independent Smallholders' Party is the closest to us, just like most of the core of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP].

[Pogonyi] The radical Mikloses? Miklos Gaspar, Miklos Lukacs, and Miklos Hasznos?

[Horvath] I will not mention names, in order to avoid arguments or internal tension. We are talking about the marked, radical, and Christian right-wing group in the KDNP.

Sejm Adopts Presidential Veto on Electoral Law

LD2104083894 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0800 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The Sejm has adopted a presidential veto against the parish councils' electoral law. The president refused to sign the law on the ground that its rules banning the election campaign in churches had violated the principles of the democratic state of law, equality before the law, and the separation of church and state.

The president also considers lowering a threshold for proportional representation as leading to the politicizing of the local self-government elections.

Energy Supply Unaffected by Miners' Strike

LD2104093294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0851 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Apr—A 48-hour strike in all lignite mines, organized by the Solidarity trade unions, began at 0700 hours. Four hours after the protest started, Mirosław Maksymiuk, of the national load-dispatching unit [krajowa dyspozycja mocy], told a PAP journalist: "Nothing is happening. We are meeting the entire demand for electricity. If it stops coming from lignite-fired power stations, we still have other sources of energy."

The extraction and consumption of lignite dropped in recent years from 73.8 million tonnes in 1988 to 66.8 million in 1992. Power and heat and power-generating plants located near lignite mines are using approximately 98 percent of all extracted lignite.

Walesa Resumes Cooperation With SLD Group

LD2004155194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1631 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Apr—During Wednesday's meeting between Lech Walesa and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] parliamentary floor group, the president announced a return to cooperation with the SLD in order to create a new constitution of the Polish Republic. "A manly decision: We are returning to cooperation," Walesa said, adding that he took as an apology the floor group leader's acknowledgment of the president as the author of the citizens' constitutional initiative.

Kwasniewski said that "we willingly hand to the president" the authorship of the citizens' initiative. "If it is taken up, it will only be of advantage to constitutional work. I think it would be worthwhile to stop all of this ill-feeling in the interests of work on the large Constitution," the head of the SLD parliamentary floor group said.

Walesa Comments on Meeting

LD2004202894 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Relayed by TV Polonia network]

[Text] Katarzyna Kolenda will report to us on the latest events at the Sejm:

[Kolenda] Just after the meeting of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] parliamentary floor group had ended, a totally unexpected and unplanned meeting took place between SLD leader Aleksander Kwasniewski and President Lech Walesa. This meeting was proposed by the president himself, and the coalition had been knocking in vain at the president's door for this meeting for several weeks.

Literally a dozen or so seconds ago, Walesa's news conference ended at the Sejm. The president did not want to say, however, what the private talks with Kwasniewski were about. He only said: We cleared up certain things that should not have happened in the past. The president did not want to say to what political facts he was referring.

The president also said that he did not see any need for a meeting with the entire coalition for the time being. In the president's view, the leaders of the SLD and the Polish Peasant Party should first agree on a new candidate for the post of finance minister and deputy responsible for economic affairs. Only then, after agreeing on this candidate, can a meeting take place.

At the news conference, the president said that Dariusz Rosati will not be his candidate for this post. In other words, the president upheld his declaration made earlier during the meeting of the SLD parliamentary floor group that he would not endorse that candidacy.

Asked whether he thought that today's meeting with the SLD parliamentary floor group and today's talks with Kwasniewski marked an end to the conflict of the past several weeks, Walesa said that this was not the case at all, that these conflicts will go on, and that he intends to cause them himself. The president indicated, however, that these conflicts are meant to help resolve very serious problems.

The president admitted that Kwasniewski's declaration that there will be no changes to the interim Constitution had upset his plans a little, because, as announced earlier, the president is going out into the country on 21 April, where he intends to convince the people of his arguments.

More Comments by Walesa

LD2004205394 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1900 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Apr—Decisions were made, we all admitted our mistakes—matters must move on, President Lech Walesa said during his news conference on

Wednesday at the Sejm, commenting on his earlier meeting with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] parliamentary floor group.

"I am satisfied with the apology and the admission that I was right, after all," Walesa said. During the meeting with the SLD group, its leader, Aleksander Kwasniewski, had acknowledged that the president was the author of the citizens' constitutional initiative. "I am not saying this in order to fight, in order to prove who was better. It is good that we have removed one of the problems that makes cooperation possible," the president added.

Lech Walesa said there had been no concessions on either side; there was the logic of facts and "a logic that said that a platform for talks has to be found." Answering a question from journalists on what he had won as a result of the meeting, Walesa replied, "I do not want to win anything for myself; I want to win peace, calm, and a good solution for Poland, and this has been achieved for today, it seems. There will be no tinkering with the Small Constitution, there will be no attempt on the powers of parliament and the president. We are left with work."

Asked by journalists if he accepts the coalition's aim of putting its representatives into the posts of deputy ministers in the ministries subordinate to him—Foreign Affairs, Internal Affairs, and National Defense—the president recalled the plan by Foreign Ministry head Olechowski, under which the political structures in his ministry would be made separate from the organizational structures, staffed by professionals. "If the coalition accepts that plan and brings it into those three ministries, I have nothing against that," Walesa said, adding that the agreement of the ministries concerned would, of course, be essential.

"If need be, of course—yes," the president said in answer to a question on whether he will soon meet representatives of the coalition. He added that, "for today," he does not see such a need. In the president's opinion, a suitable forum for this type of regular meeting in the future would be the National Security Council.

Walesa announced that he would soon be visiting all of Poland's provinces. The president denied that this is to be the beginning of his election campaign. "Encouraging people to take part in the local self-government elections, to make good election choices, that is not an election campaign, it is helping all those people who take the good of Poland seriously."

SLD's Miller on Coalition-Walesa Rapport

WS2104101594 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Apr 94 p 6

[Interview with Labor Minister Leszek Miller, leader of the Democratic Left Alliance, by Robert Krasowski and Igor Zalewski on 20 April; place not given: "Coalition Gains Strength With Every Day"]

[Text] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Did one really have to use a constitutional weapon against the president? Could one not have come to an agreement without pointing a gun at the president's head?

[Miller] First, we should ask a question regarding the president's real goals. Is he ready to "live together," or will he fight the coalition with every possible means at his disposal? And we should keep in mind that he has quite a few such means: He is empowered to veto laws and to cause a decisionmaking paralysis, and he can join all those who think that "the worse it is, the better it is." So we could be facing deadlocks for months to come, which will be disastrous for Poland, but perhaps they will enable the president to gain the most right-wing and the most populist electorate that would constitute the basis for his support in the coming elections. If those are the president's goals, this war is unavoidable. We will then be dealing with such diverging interests that it will be hard to find any compromise.

But if, on the other hand, the president is of the view that such "living together" is possible, one should avoid making decisions that would make both sides' positions rigid, and one should look for compromise solutions.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Which scenario is more likely?

[Miller] Sometimes I have a feeling that the first scenario is more likely, and at other times I have a feeling that the second one is. At this particular time, I would be willing to admit that Lech Walesa is willing to cooperate. But I cannot be sure because the president is not consistent with regard to his views and feelings. He changes them rapidly, and then he sends conflicting messages to the public at large.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Suppose the Belweder grants certain concessions—would you be in favor of withdrawing the draft of amendments to the Small Constitution?

[Miller] If the president were willing to come to a compromise solution and to live together, then, yes, I would be in favor of that. But that issue is of no major importance after today's [20 April] meeting between Walesa and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] because we gave up on the idea of amending the Small Constitution.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What kind of proof of a compromise position would you expect from President Walesa?

[Miller] First of all, a resolution of the issue of deputy prime minister for economic affairs. After all, there is a vacancy at one of the most important state posts, and that is not a normal situation. I view the president's reservations regarding our candidate as not very convincing.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] So are you saying President Walesa should accept Rosati?

[Miller] That is exactly what should be the topic of conversation. And either the president comes up with more serious reservations regarding Rosati's candidacy, if he can think of any, or he simply decides that Rosati is a good candidate and approves of him.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] All that looks like a dispute concerning prestige.

[Miller] If we want to achieve any personnel success in the future, we cannot lightheartedly abandon anyone we recommended because no one else will agree to be a candidate afterwards.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But everybody knows that, if there is anyone stubborn in Poland, it is Lech Walesa. Because he said that Rosati will not join the government, then, even if he agrees now, he will try to have it his way next time.

[Miller] Lech Walesa often changes his mind.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Are such joint stands by the entire coalition against the president a cementing factor for the coalition?

[Miller] Definitely. After all, they prove the falsity of all those speculations that Prime Minister Pawlak is allegedly staging a theatrical performance of some sort with the president, with an amazed public watching it. Right now, more and more people can see that is just not true and that we are dealing with a genuine difference of views.

Anyway, I think the prime minister must have recalled the fates of all of the president's loves, beginning with the first triumphant picture with Jozwiak and Malinowski [not further specified] and ending with recent events. Being an intelligent man, the prime minister can draw his own conclusions.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] So that means it used to be different before.

[Miller] I think that both Pawlak and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] could have a feeling that the SLD is yearning for a different type of coalition arrangement. Some statements—like, for instance, that the SLD feels closer to the Democratic Union—could have aroused such a suspicion. And it is possible that the prime minister was looking for some kind of an alternative just in case it turns out that he has to build a coalition with somebody else. That is exactly what could have been the reason for the kind attitude taken toward the Belweder, which could be seen in particular at the beginning of the government's term.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Did you have a feeling during the crisis over Kawalec and then Borowski that the prime minister cooperates with the Belweder against the SLD?

[Miller] The rush with which all that happened, especially on the part of the president, may lead to such a conclusion. But I really do not think this was a message

on Pawlak's part that he was acting against the SLD's interests, but, instead, it was a message that he intends to be the prime minister and the Cabinet's chief.

At any rate, I will be blunt about this: The previous finance minister acted inconsiderately.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] It can be concluded from what you are saying that both sides are to blame for the flaws in cooperation between the coalition partners.

[Miller] It all began with the prime minister. After all, the first scandal we went through, even before the formal establishment of the government, had to do with presenting the president with a different government composition than what had been agreed upon with us. But one can say that both sides provided a lot of reasons for the decrease in mutual confidence.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But, if a compromise with the Belweder turns out to be impossible, are you not afraid that the PSL will take the Belweder's side in the end?

[Miller] The coalition gains strength with each passing day.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Does Pawlak have to be afraid that, being only with the SLD and with no support from the Belweder, he will eventually be dominated by the SLD?

[Miller] No. Pawlak is this government's prime minister. Besides, I have a feeling that the PSL will win the self-governmental elections and that that will strengthen Pawlak's position.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you agree with the views expressed by some right-wing politicians that the president's moves are purely destructive and disastrous to the country?

[Miller] That would be an overstatement. Walesa has acted very responsibly at a few historical times. But I have a feeling that the closer we get to the elections, the more the president wants to approach Poland mainly from the standpoint of the elections.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But a preelection fever is also visible in the SLD. We have been getting messages concerning friction between Kwasniewski and Oleksy. We hear that a competition is beginning about who is to be the candidate.

[Miller] There are such differences, and they will be there in the future. You, gentlemen, are familiar with the SLD's leadership so you know that it comprises ambitious people who have their own views that they do not give up easily. There was a time when Kwasniewski and I were perceived to be opponents. I can see that a need is emerging for another antagonism-based duo. The election campaign will be conducive to a rise in temperature also within the SLD.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] In an article of yours published in TRYBUNA, you wrote that "there is a need for a coalition agreement in the presidential elections." Is that supposed to mean that the PSL and the SLD should come up with a joint candidate?

[Miller] If one could do that, it would be the best solution. But if we do not accomplish that, then what we should agree upon, at the least, is that we, for instance, will not interfere with each other in the first round of the elections, and that we support a joint candidate in the second round.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But it could happen that candidates for both the PSL and the SLD will enter the second round.

[Miller] In that case, that would be much harder to accomplish.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Is it conceivable to you that Pawlak should be the SLD's candidate in the elections?

[Miller] I refuse to answer the question. Or maybe not. During the previous presidential elections, I submitted Aleksander Kwasniewski's candidacy for president of the Polish Republic at a session of the Chief Council of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic. I will gladly do the same thing again.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Is the cooperation between the coalition partners up to now—within Pawlak's government—good grounds to believe that an agreement like that is possible?

[Miller] I think it is. We still have a few months ahead of us during which more events may unfold that will strengthen the coalition. Right now, I sometimes have a feeling that our electorates are closer to each other than the leaders, while the process of rapprochement between the electorates will continue. That pressure will also be of some importance.

NATO Parliament Members Meet MON Head

WS2004142594 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish
20 Apr 94 pp 1, 5

[Article by Jerzy Markowski: "NATO Parliament Members in MON; Minister Kolodziejczyk in Cross Fire of Questions"]

[Text] A group of NATO parliament members who arrived in our country at the invitation of Professor Longin Pastusiak, chairman of the standing Polish delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly [NAA], were received on 19 April by National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk and Jerzy Milewski, secretary of State in the Ministry of National Defense [MON]. The group is headed by NAA Chairman Loic Bouvard and Jose Pereira, chairman of the NAA Committee for Central Europe and the former USSR.

The meeting, which lasted over an hour, turned into a "cross fire" of questions concerning the defense system and security of our country directed to Minister Kolodziejczyk. They concerned such specific issues as the content of the presentation document pertaining to our participation in the "Partnership for Peace" program, the financial issues in Poland's integration with NATO, civilian control over the Armed Forces and the competence of the individual establishments and divisions in Poland responsible for security, changes in the budget of MON, our capabilities of increasing our participation in UN peacekeeping operations, and our opinion on the practical implementation of the "Partnership" program in joint exercises, trainings, and the education of Polish officers in Western military academies.

As has been shown, the range of the topics was quite broad. Minister Kolodziejczyk stated that the presentation document, which discusses our participation in the "Partnership" in detail, has been submitted to the Council of Ministers and that, once it is accepted, it will be officially forwarded to Brussels and Mons. It has a greater practical than political dimension, even though our interpretation of the democratic control over the Armed Forces has been included in the document, as well. Minister Kolodziejczyk also recalled that a parliamentary debate on the defense system is expected to be held in mid-May; the main topic discussed will be the separation of civilian supervision over the Army from its purely military structures of command. "During the debate, we want to stress," said Minister Kolodziejczyk, "that security, unfortunately, costs a lot; however, money invested in it is far less than the cost of war."

The minister admitted that there exists a real chance to strengthen the MON budget with the sums necessary to implement the "Partnership" and to modernize the Army's technology. As for civilian control over the Army, which was probably of greatest interest to the NATO parliament members, the minister stated that he expects the debate to result in new legal regulations in this regard; right now, in force are still the regulations issued in 1967, which give the defense minister not only administrative but also military powers. "In Poland we suffer from an overabundance of politicians who are competent in the issues of defense," added Piotr Kolodziejczyk. He illustrated this problem with the example of himself and emphasized that "this is a temporary state, which is bound to change."

The ministry's budget, which the guests asked about, is consistently decreasing. Since 1986, it has decreased by 60 percent and right now amounts to 2.1 percent of the state budget. This information of the minister simply amazed the guests. They also scrupulously noted the words by P. Kolodziejczyk when he said that the West is absolutely closed to technical and technological cooperation in the area of the modernization of our Army. "If the condition of integration with the West is standardization, how can this condition be met if one is denied cooperation in this area?" the minister asked.

Military cooperation with our neighbors was also very highly evaluated: We are not running a race for NATO with them. We are interested in their integration with the organization as much as we are in our own. This was underscored by Minister Milewski, who also drew attention to the need to avoid the "gray zone" as soon as possible. This zone is becoming a natural temptation for Russia's expansion. As for our participation in peace-keeping missions, it was said that we have been a part of them for years, and it is not a matter of our willingness to increase our participation. It is, rather, a matter of cost. The UN is not famous for refunding incurred costs on time. It must be remembered that, because MON's budget is so small, it is difficult to credit such operations.

The NATO parliament members were obviously satisfied with the openness and substantiveness of the discussion in MON, which is of considerable importance in winning new supporters of the stand we have taken in our striving for integration with NATO.

Official on Central, Local Government Reforms

WS2004131594 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
23 Apr 94 p 7

[Interview with Michal Strak, minister and chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers, by Janina Paradowska; place and date not given: "An Apple on a Branch"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Paradowska] In your view, what is the coalition's strongest cementing factor? Power for its own sake?

[Strak] I will put it bluntly: lack of a better alternative for each of the coalition's partners. And this lack of an alternative is a more serious problem for the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] than it is for the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. The numbers currently in parliament determine the fact that the SLD, along with the Democratic Union [UD], could possibly create a parliamentary majority, whereas the PSL would have to gain the support of two parties.

[Paradowska] What could one possibly establish that would be creative, based on a lack of an alternative?

[Strak] Lack of an alternative gives room for breathing and makes it possible to conduct politics without a dramatic fear that everything is about to collapse at any moment. So one can plan various measures a few years in advance because the time for the government to be verified is still somewhat in the future.

[Paradowska] This way, one can earn the "government of stagnation" label.

[Strak] We will see whether there will be stagnation. The opposition can attach any label it wants, but let us wait peacefully for what this government will be doing precisely in this longer kind of term. I think the evaluation will not be complete until the end of the parliamentary

term. In my view, the length of authorities' term of office is a sanctity in a democracy. Unless we learn to respect it, it will turn out that, when it comes right down to it, we have not yet matured sufficiently to be able to function in a democratic regime.

[Paradowska] I came across the following sentence in one of your interviews: "The PSL finds it easier to say what it does not want rather than what it wants, which means it is easier for the PSL to present its political vision with precision and to regard it as a program." That is not a very encouraging confession, coming from a representative of a team that has gained power and wants to remain in power for the coming years.

[Strak] There used to be governmental teams that knew precisely what they wanted but did not quite know what they did not want, and how did they end up? We all know how. One could use the following academic criterion: "Could you list 10 items that you want?" But one could also approach it from the standpoint of what should not happen. This question is very important: At the stage of transformation in which Poland has found itself currently, do we need positive schemes more, or have we reached a point where various things have already happened and we must make a selection, which means facing the question of what constitutes a permanent accomplishment and should be perfected further, and, on the other hand, what it is that we decide to give up on. Let me use the example of self-governments. After four years, we know that self-governments at the gmina level should be further developed, whereas, for the moment, we do not have to organize self-governments at the powiat [small administrative unit] level. So you see that it is equally important to have positive as well as negative visions.

[Paradowska] So what are your positive and negative programs at the post you occupy?

[Strak] The positive program is expressed by four draft laws that concern: the Council of Ministers, organs of territorial governmental administration, civil service, and amendments to a law on state officials. Issue number-one, as far as the system of ruling the country goes, is to lead to an order in the governmental administration. A second element is about continuing with self-governmental reforms at the gmina [smallest administrative unit] level. The negative program is about the nonintroduction of self-governmental mechanisms at the powiat level or even at the voivodship level. Because relations with the church are also included in my range of duties, it follows that my positive program is to arrange these relations in a way that would prevent friction from occurring in the church-government rapport. Issues related to information circulation are also within my field of interest, and, in that area, we must lead to the government's stable presence in the media.

[Paradowska] What do you mean by "the government's stable presence in the media"?

[Strak] I mean that there should be opportunities where one can read or watch how the government would like to see itself portrayed. So we want to have a permanent column in *RZECZPOSPOLITA*. I also think one should consider how to make use of a provision in a law on radio and television that states that public radio and television have an obligation to present the position of the supreme organs of state power. Unfortunately, how that should come about was not specified in the provision. It is like an apple that someone has put on a branch high above the ground and no one knows how to reach. So one should build a ladder of some sort.

[Paradowska] In your view, what should such a ladder look like?

[Strak] One must simply define it as there being a time slot in the television schedule reserved for the government to present its position, the same way it is happening now with religious programs.

[Paradowska] There is the governmental "Balance" television program.

[Strak] Because the government is criticized for not coming through strongly enough in the media, one can presume that "Balance" is simply not enough. It is possible that we will set up a joint commission made up of government and media circles to discuss this issue and similar ones.

[Paradowska] All of your predecessors used to say that the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM] cannot be reformed, that it is unmanageable, and that it must be broken apart. You want to build new commissions around it.

[Strak] Generally speaking, I break anything apart with great reluctance. I think that, if something is already in existence, it is better to try to fix it. I have never been, or will ever be, a revolutionary. But I think the main problem with the entire power structure in Poland is that vertical structures function—and quite well, too—but that there are no horizontal structures functioning at all. There is no interministry coordination. So I would like to lead to the establishment of a whole range of bodies that would function within governmental structures and that would deal with solving different problems on a horizontal level. A single ministry will not solve, for instance, the problem of border crossings.

[Paradowska] So there will be separate bureaus for border crossings, plenipotentiaries for pathology, and so forth?

[Strak] It is not an issue of plenipotentiaries. These issues are dealt with by specific people in the various ministries, so one does not have to set up new posts, but we must create for them an opportunity to jointly watch the same reality. Coordinating functions can be localized in different places—be it in URM or in the individual ministries. It is possible that the issue of border crossings

should be assigned to URM, whereas the issue of national minorities should be assigned to the Culture Ministry.

[Paradowska] What you are saying confirms the opposition's accusations about the desire to have a maximum centralization of all issues.

[Strak] That is not true. It can be concluded from information that I got on the organization of the British Government that over there, they have 150 different committees functioning across the different ministries.

[Paradowska] To what extent are your plans to increase the powers of voivodes [local governmental officials] linked to this coordination? And, also, what is the essence of these additional powers supposed to be about?

[Strak] That is quite a different issue. I would like to empower voivodes with decisionmaking powers regarding personnel issues in special administrations. So I do not want to take the special administration away from the ministers, but I want to make chiefs of the special administrations begin to feel that a voivode is also their boss—perhaps not boss number-one but with a sufficiently strong position that his view must be considered.

[Paradowska] But my understanding is that this arrangement of a "ministerial Poland" that we have suits you, and there will be no revolution in that regard, either?

[Strak] A major debate is ahead of us, concerning how the entire power structure should be organized. I think the number of ministries will remain more or less the same, but their structures will change and they will stabilize. Political posts will be clearly separated from substantive ones. In connection with the work we are conducting, the Foreign Ministry has already prepared its own organizational concept.

[Paradowska] So everything is in accordance with your concept of putting things in order, perfecting them, but not changing too much?

[Strak] One cannot destroy vertical arrangements that are already in place and thanks to which the state is functioning and is not in an anarchy. But in order to improve the process of governing, horizontal coordination must be activated. Once the ministries' structures are put in order, this mechanism will be set in motion. I think that, if we have any reserves at all, it is precisely in the area of improving the efficiency of ruling.

[Paradowska] So far, you have been improving the efficiency of ruling by replacing voivodes, or at least this is what you are most famous for. Because you plan to increase voivodes' powers, should one not adopt the appropriate statutory regulations first and then look for the right people?

[Strak] In theory, this is exactly as it should have happened, but, in practical terms, it must have happened the way it really did.

[Paradowska] You could not overcome pressure by party rank-and-file?

[Strak] It was not just the issue of pressure. Even before it occurred to anyone that I would be URM's chief, I already spoke at that point on my idea of what the regional power structure should look like, and I also said that it must be adapted to the changes taking place at the top. But one must not forget that, despite all of the propaganda about it, we replaced voivodes in just 29 voivodships.

[Paradowska] And you think that is not a lot?

[Strak] I do not know whether it is a lot or a little. It is more or less the same as in France during the change of a team.

[Paradowska] There are some differences. In France, there is a corps of highly skilled officials who must, for instance, be graduates of prestigious schools.

[Strak] In Poland, neither new officials nor old ones have graduated from such schools. My point is that we have just reached the limit of about 60 percent of changes that I regard as rational, but that does not mean that there will be no further changes.

[Paradowska] But the SLD has not participated in a major way in this booty sharing.

[Strak] It is not an issue of sharing booty between the SLD and the PSL. There were specific agreements between the SLD and the PSL in all of the voivodships except Wloclawek. The SLD has no reason to feel it was discriminated against. Of course, on the surface it may seem like the PSL got more posts, but the fact that the SLD candidates prefer to present themselves as non-party, that is their business and theirs alone. I will not force anybody to show their current or past party identification cards.

[Paradowska] Your most recent idea is to introduce terms of office for voivodes, under which, with every change of government, there would also be a change of voivodes and their deputies.

[Strak] Why do you say change? Perhaps this is about stabilization. The point is to establish clear rules of the game and to lead to a situation where a voivode knows that, as long as a particular prime minister is in power, his situation is stable, while his future—I mean a renewal of the contract by the next prime minister—will depend on whether the voivode is loyal to the political arrangement that is in power at a given time, and also on whether he will not do too many things that could endanger his relationship with the government that could gain power. Then nobody could hold it against him that, while being a voivode under Prime Minister Pawlak's government, he has good rapport with UD or with some other opposition party. In that sense, the voivode is apolitical.

[Paradowska] I must admit I do not comprehend this apolitical nature completely.

[Strak] Why don't you analyze the fate of those voivodes who have remained at their posts but who do not get publicity? What have they done to deserve this lack of reservations about them? Simply put, in the previous period, they acted normally vis-a-vis parties that were in the opposition; to them, there were no better and no worse political forces or better and worse Sejm deputies. They were voivodes for everybody. So they avoided conflicts with anyone and now it pays back. So, if we define the rules, we should tell voivodes outright: You are supposed to cooperate with the government properly, and it is a question of your skills to make those who come after us approve of you, as well. Voivodes, both old and new, accept that. So as to avoid destabilization in case of a change, we are establishing the post of director general of the office [presumably of URM], which will not be subject to fluctuations. That will be exactly the state civil service. So we are presenting a certain comprehensive structure whose essence is to separate whatever is political (and thus subject to change, with the voivode being a political official under this concept) from what is civil service.

[Paradowska] I must admit that I still cannot see what the stabilization is about. What is stable about a situation in which an entire government changes and almost, at the same time, voivodship leaderships also change?

[Strak] Why do you continue to assume that everything changes?

[Paradowska] Because the other parties will also have their rank-and-file members, who must be awarded posts after the victory. Unless that is so, it is your prediction that the PSL will rule forever.

[Strak] My assumption is that, after the change of government, a major portion of the voivodes will remain at their posts and the new prime minister will extend contracts with them because they will have had good rapport with everybody. Of course, some change is always unavoidable.

[Paradowska] What criteria did you use while looking for voivode candidates, naturally apart from the political criterion?

[Strak] These criteria are somewhat different with regard to voivodes coming from SLD and PSL lists. The SLD suggested people associated with the economy or with the administration of the scientific community—for instance, former university presidents or their deputies. So, basically speaking, the arrangement of people there could be described as a scholarly-economic one. Among PSL people, there are former chief officers of groups of villages and people who served in the state administration in the past. So one cannot say they are completely without any prior experience or preparation. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] To what extent is everything that you do and proclaim—the relationship to self-governments at different levels, the new philosophy of stabilization regarding voivodes, the administration reforms—a result of decisions made within the coalition, and to what extent is this your own vision of the state? Is this Minister Strak's private business?

[Strak] Being here, it is my task to articulate my party's and the coalition's points of view. The coalition will be delivered this batch of laws, and it will decide what to do next. But it is beyond any dispute that the arrangement of state power must be put in order. We will debate in different groups regarding the way that should be accomplished, in both the voivodships, during sessions by the Council of Ministers, which, after all, is composed of coalition ministers, and in the Sejm. I can assure you that party interests or my private interests will not be of primary importance in that regard. The greatest party interest that is ahead of us to be accomplished is that, after four years in power, it will turn out that this country's functioning has improved.

[Paradowska] Thank you for the conversation.

New TV Program Council Chairman Elected

LD2104091194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1648 GMT
20 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Apr—The Program Council of Polish Television S.A. [joint-stock company] was formed on 20 April. Jozef Zych, deputy Sejm speaker and Polish Peasant Party [PSL] deputy, was elected chairman of the council. Zbigniew Niezgoda, head of the Office of the Polish Television Board S.A., said that film director Krzysztof Zanussi and defense lawyer and scriptwriter Krzysztof Piesiewicz were elected deputy chairmen.

Other members of the program council are Maria Braungalkowska, Lublin Catholic University professor; Maciej Englert, film director; Ryszard Jarzembowski, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] senator; Krzysztof Krol, the Confederation for an Independent Poland deputy; Jacek Kurczewski, Warsaw University professor; Zdobyslaw Milewski, Democratic Union deputy; Jan Sek, PSL senator; Adam Siruzik, PSL senator and senate speaker; Ryszard Ulicki, SLD deputy; Andrzej Urbanczyk, SLD deputy; Marek Wielgus, the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms deputy; and Krzysztof Wolicki, journalist.

Approval of TV Council's Report Postponed

LD2004224394 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish
1900 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Speakers identified by caption]

[Text] After a three-hour debate on the annual report by the National Broadcasting and Television Council [KRRiT], the Sejm Culture Commission decided it would not decide today on whether or not to approve it.

The deputies decided they would do this only after the constitutional tribunal has ruled whether the president is entitled to dismiss the chairman of the council. The deputies did not clarify if the approval of the report would depend on whether the post was held by Marek Markiewicz or Ryszard Bender.

[Zofia Kedziora] It is a total disaster, complained SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] Deputy Izabella Sierakowska about public television. She asked members of the council how they appraised their decision to appoint as head of public television Wieslaw Walendziak, who, according to the deputy's perception, was to have been a wunderkind of the council.

[Deputy Izabella Sierakowska] I must say with regret that this child of yours has not been a success at all.

[Marek Markiewicz, KRRiT] I do not know, I do not feel too comfortable in the area of obstetrics. I find it hard to say whether the child, in the form of Chairman Walendziak, has been a success, especially in the third month since its birth.

[Kedziora] Marek Markiewicz believes that it will be possible to appraise the television only after some time, once the effects of the recent transformations become visible.

Deputy Jerzy Wuttke accused the council of making PolSat a monopolist by awarding it the franchise. This is contrary to legislation. Before the council members replied, Deputy Wenderlich from the SLD asked whether the view expressed by the preceding speaker had been his own, that of the BBWR [Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms], or the Belweder's.

[Deputy Jerzy Wenderlich] This occurred to me when Deputy Wuttke said with apparent regret that the president's positive role was to all intents and purposes mentioned in only one sentence.

[Kedziora] According to Marek Markiewicz, for the moment, the only monopolist is public television, and only a national station can compete with it.

[Ryszard Miazek, KRRiT] We face the question whether Polish television is going to be private Polish television or Italian, German, British, or American. We replied as we have: We are building Polish private television—weak at the moment, but it is going to grow alongside Polish capitalism.

[Kedziora] It can be expected that the commission is going to examine the council report in late May or early June.

Economic Freedoms, Development Discussed*WS2004134594 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish
20 Apr 94 p 4*

[Article by Professor Leszek Balcerowicz, compiled by Czeslaw Rychlewski: "What Kind of Economy?; Freedom Is a Source of Development"]

[Text] One must first of all pose the following question: What kind of requirements should the economic system in Poland meet? In my view, it should serve four goals: first, assure economic freedom; second, enable rapid development—that is to say, establish more and more jobs that would be increasingly productive; third, assure equal opportunities to the maximum extent possible—that equality of opportunity must not be confused with an equality of situation (for instance, of income levels); and fourth, limit to a minimum the harmful impact of practical economic activity on the environment. There is far-reaching coherence among these goals, meaning that whatever serves one of them usually serves the remaining ones, as well.

Long-term planning, which in enterprises is based on the stability of currency, the law, and politics, is the basis for development. Immediate goals cannot take precedence over long-term ones—for instance, a short-term consumption of investment activity. That is because the long-term consumption level will suffer as a result. The existence of efficient financial institutions is also indispensable.

Rapid and long-prospect development continues to require an economy based on private ownership. There is no justification for distinguishing so-called strategic branches that are supposed to remain in the state's hands. Telecommunications, transportation, and the energy industry should be subjected to the same kinds of requirements as other economic sectors.

A long-term development of the country is not possible without competition. Experience shows that detailed interventionist policies are the main source of corruption and inefficiency everywhere. Such policies impede individual entrepreneurship, which is a progressive factor provided the principle of equal opportunities—meaning that people's situations are determined by their mental and personal skills and not by the force of pressure applied on the state—is respected. With rapid development based on the principle of a major equality of opportunities, the discrepancy between income levels proves much smaller than in many countries that were developing at a slower pace because they were hampered by pressure groups linked to the state apparatus. A comparison between countries of Southeast Asia and Latin America proves the point.

Aside from that, capitalist principles of economic management can also be made to serve ecology—of course, to the extent that it is possible in the real world. If one just pays for using the resources of the natural environment, the huge, capitalist mechanism leads to a wise and

reasonable exploitation of that environment. That can be clearly seen in developed capitalist countries.

At what stage are we? Our economy is in much better shape than what we inherited in 1989. But there is still a lot to be done, and, apart from that, some dangers are emerging for what we have already achieved. We should lower the inflation level to 5 percent per year at the most. That is going to be very difficult, given the strong pressure to increase earnings; the pressure is much greater than in other postsocialist countries. Trade unions must make a decision: Do they want to be a source of populist pressures that create unemployment, or do they want to contribute to creating new and productive jobs? Prodevelopmental relations in enterprises will take place only when profits are not constantly pressured by earnings but, instead, are devoted to investments.

I can also perceive dangers for economic freedoms and for competition. There is an attempt to return to monopolistic structures under the old banner of putting the economy in order. As a result of the introduction of compensatory payments on imported agricultural products, Poland is heading in the direction of an agricultural policy that has become the source of waste and social injustice in EC countries that are wealthier than we are.

There are also disturbing trends visible in privatization that have aroused political disputes anew. As a result of unstable and populist policies, we have already wasted about two years, and, right now, the privatization of more banks, among others, is being delayed again. Reforms of the social insurance system, the educational system, or health protection should not be postponed, either. Reforms condition the correct functioning of these important areas and are also nursing public finances back to health.

Economic reforms can be continued in an efficient manner only within an appropriate, stable political framework. Unfortunately, Poland lacks that at the moment. The vacuum in the Finance Ministry is cause for concern, as well as recent personnel decisions subordinated to party politics. There is no constitution that would protect the economy against the destructive influence of populist policies. Strong, constitutional safeguards of economic freedoms are needed. Constitutional provisions should also strengthen the central bank's position, and they should shield the budget against unprotected expenditures. Only then will we have a strong currency.

20% of Posts in Armed Forces Remain Vacant*LD2004212994 Warsaw TVP Television First Program
Network in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer Grazyna Bukowska] Twenty percent of establishment posts in the Polish Armed Forces

remain vacant. The posts of almost half of the NCO's [noncommissioned officers] establishment and one in 10 officers are not filled. The National Defense Ministry [MON] has, for the first time, declassified the information on employment in the Armed Forces.

[Correspondent T. Bialoszewski] There are almost 90,000 professional servicemen in the Polish Army. Half of these are officers. There are 26,000 warrant officers. The professional NCO's are the fewest in number; there are only 19,000 of them.

[Major General Roman Harmoza, Defense Ministry head of personnel, identified by caption] "The Army is short of 46 percent of its NCO's. It is they who form the backbone of the Army because they work directly with the soldiers."

[Bialoszewski] Signals services, commonly described as the neural network of the Army, are experiencing the worst personnel problems. The MON staffing command

states that the problem can be resolved by contract service. Suitably qualified civilians are taken on by these services.

[Harmonza] "We have 1,000 contract servicemen of different ranks. This year we have taken 270 servicemen into the services, and the limit has been exhausted."

[Bialoszewski] There are almost 10 times as many people willing to do contract service as are taken on. The Army does not have enough money to employ all of the necessary people. The Army wants to rejuvenate itself. The principles of retirement of officers will be rigorously observed. The principles of promotion are also changing.

[Harmonza] "We will only be able to promote people if there is a vacancy for the promoted person. If we want to promote one major, one major will have to go."

[Bialoszewski] Professional soldiers constitute only 30 percent of the Armed Forces; the ministry has plans for half of the Armed Forces in the year 2000 to consist of professional soldiers.

Iliescu Wants 'Clear Statement' From Ex-King*AU2004114094 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 18 Apr 94 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "President Iliescu Wants To Clarify Ex-King's Position"]

[Text] "The ex-king must issue a clear statement to receive an entry visa for Romania," President Ion Iliescu has said in an answer to an AFP reporter's question. The Romanian Government had an open attitude in 1992, when King Mihai I was in Romania; in autumn 1993 he was asked to adopt a clear position toward the rules of the Romanian Constitution. "I do not want to take similar measures to those taken throughout history by France, Italy, or Greece (in connection with former monarchs and their direct descendants). Therefore, we want to have a clear statement from him," said President Iliescu, who avoided giving a clear answer to the question: "Will King Mihai be granted an entry visa to Romania?"

Economic Cooperation With Serbia Anticipated*AU2004100294 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Apr 94 p 1*

[Article by Oana Stanculescu: "Iliescu-Milosevic Agreement—As Soon as Sanctions Are Lifted, Bega Canal Will Become Free Trade Zone"]

[Text] "One of the quickest ways of reviving the Yugoslav economy is to use the infrastructure of Romanian industries, which are largely complementary with the Yugoslav industries," said Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at the recent meeting with Premier Vacaroiu. The Yugoslav economists, the Foreign Ministry's note reads, believe that for the complete revival of economic productive departments one needs a minimum of 18 years, something that from a social viewpoint is inconceivable.

In these conditions, one hopes for Serbian-Romanian cooperation, mainly in the areas of metallurgy, machine building, electrical engineering, electronics, chemicals, and the pharmaceuticals industry. By starting with these actions as soon as sanctions are lifted, the exchange might reach a volume of 1 billion dollars by 1995. In this way, the revival of the Yugoslav economy could be completed by the year 2000 and the Romanian economy could make up for the losses suffered as a result of the dismantling of the CEMA market and loosening of relations with the CIS.

The aforementioned note also mentions that the Romanian side expressed agreement with the cooperation projects presented by the Serbian guests. However, it insisted that they should take place only when sanctions are lifted, because currently the UN Committee 724 sometimes shows a totally unjustified rigidity toward any commercial operation with Yugoslavia.

At the meeting of the two countries' presidents, when the sides examined the results of the talks, the Serbian side launched the idea of building a free trade zone along the Bega Canal [which crosses Timisoara], as soon as international political conditions permit it. Considering that the idea of creating certain free economic zones is a long-standing wish of President Iliescu's, it was regarded with great interest and will be implemented as soon as possible.

Daily Praises Ministers' Openness to Press*AU1904191094 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 16 Apr 94 p 1*

[Editorial by Ion Cristoiu: "A Dangerous Precedent for the Social Democracy Party of Romania"]

[Text] One cannot say that the new ministers who emerged after the latest governmental reshuffle have started on a left foot. At least this applies to their relations with the press. At the Ministry of National Defense, Minister Gheorghe Tinca, for instance, boosted up the press bureau, which is now holding news conferences on a weekly basis. If we also consider the fact that they appointed a young lady whose looks are crushing the male journalists as the ministry's spokesperson, we can see that we are dealing here with an attempt by the diplomat Gheorghe Tinca to seduce the press by all means. Even if the charm cast by the lady officer (with the grade of major) can seriously affect the professionalism of the journalists, the shrewdness of the new minister of defense is to be preferred over the obvious hooliganism of other dignitaries vis-a-vis the press. The decision to do everything possible in order to have excellent relations with the press can also be noticed in the case of the other two dignitaries appointed in the wake of the recent governmental reshuffle. At his latest meeting with the press, Doru Ioan Taracila, the minister of interior, satisfied the journalists' taste for the sensational. Minister of Justice Iosif Gavril Chiuzaian tried hard, along political and journalistic lines, to convince the journalists that they have a friend in him. But there is another interesting thing about the three newly appointed ministers. Immediately after their appointment, each one of them became the target of some press attacks. At least the Ministry of National Defense came under all sorts of attacks. In spite of all that, none of the new ministers resorted to violent replies or, even worse, to banning the access of adverse journalists to the departments they are heading. Are we dealing here with people who are more intelligent than their government colleagues? Are these people more aware of the fact that the press is a power in today's Romania? Regardless of the answer, one can only welcome their attitude toward journalists, since it proves that they are aware of journalists' vanity and also concerned with their public image. Of course, the three are but at the start of their road. It is not excluded that, following the example of other dignitaries, they might lose their smiling kindness toward the press after it continues to criticize them rightly or wrongly. Anyhow, until there is proof to the

contrary, we do not err in stating that the new dignitaries seem determined to turn the press into their ally. During his broad campaign of trying to win over the journalists to his side, Iosif Gavril Chiuzbaian held a long news conference yesterday, where he announced, among other things, that he plans to propose Judge Corneliu Turianu for a leading position in the justice department. The new minister seems determined to repair all the mistakes made by his predecessor, Petre Ninosu, prominent leader of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR]. Yesterday's announcement is a serious blow to one of Ion Iliescu's most humble servants. First came his unexpected dismissal. Then came his failure at the vote in the Senate [for the position as Senate vice president]. Now, the new minister is canceling a decision taken by Petre Ninosu. We are thus witnessing a happy moment of justice being done to a wronged man. Corneliu Turianu was illegally removed from the presidency of the Bucharest Military Court by the former justice minister. A certain part of the press jumped, so to say, to Corneliu Turianu's defense. Petre Ninosu's political friends violently reacted to this rightful stand taken by the independent journalists. Now, life is giving credit to those who condemned Petre Ninosu's decision. Another act of destiny seems to be the downfall of Iosif Gavril Chiuzbaian's predecessor. In real life, all sins must be paid for. Petre Ninosu is also paying for the injustice he has done. Nevertheless, aside from all this, the PDSR is faced with a most pressing problem, which belongs more to the realm of metaphysics than politics. In spite of everything, Petre Ninosu is one of their people. I realize that they could do nothing to keep him in the post of minister of justice. I realize that they could not promote him to the position of vice president of the Senate. However, what I cannot understand is why they do not jump now to defend the decision taken by Petre Ninosu with regard to Corneliu Turianu's case. This because the statement of the new minister of justice is extremely ominous for the PDSR. It demonstrates to all present ministers that a time may come, after their departure from their posts, that their decisions can be canceled. Not by opposition ministers, but even by other PDSR ministers. This might make quite a few of these dignitaries think twice before they place their party's interests before the interests of the country.

Minister, NATO Commander Discuss Modernization

AU2004145394 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in
Romanian 18 Apr 94 p 1

[Report by Oana Stanculescu: "The Mangalia Navy Harbor and the Kogalniceanu Airport Will Be Put at NATO's Disposal"]

[Text] During the 5-6 April meeting held by NATO General George Joulwan [supreme commander of the Allied Forces for Europe] and National Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca, the principal issue that was approached was the modernization of the Romanian Armed Forces, said sources at the National Defense Ministry.

Currently Romania has seven battalions of paratroopers that will be the nucleus of the future Rapid Deployment Force, which is a NATO military structure. Within the next 20 months Romania will have to reorganize and enlarge those forces so that finally they will consist of three rapid deployment brigades each made up of three battalions of paratroopers and one battalion of special operation forces, namely mountain infantry, marines, and reconnaissance. Each brigade will also have its own logistics support battalion, said the aforementioned sources. Those forces have to be able to intervene within 12 hours anywhere in Europe.

In NATO's assessment a considerable part of the Romanian Army's current equipment cannot be used in the future. That is why they suggested that it should be modernized. Thus, as a conclusion of the talks, NATO pledged to offer credits to Romania to buy transportation means (trucks), complete the general overhauling of the Navy's equipment, and improve its anti-aircraft weapons.

General Joulwan suggested to the Romanian party that its military communications system should be fully redone, because similarly to the radar watch network, during the 1989 December events it did not prove to be reliable. During the aforementioned talks they also approached the experience accumulated from the modernization of the Slovak Army communications, which was done with the assistance of German experts, the modernization programs designed to update the anti-aircraft defenses of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, and the necessity of establishing a "joint air space."

Another issue they discussed referred to the access of NATO to Romanian military facilities—more precisely, to the Navy harbor at Mangalia, the Constanta port, the [Air Force] airport near Kogalniceanu [Constanta County], the firing range near Sibiu, and the air-to-air and airplane practice field near Midia [Constanta County].

During the meeting the Romanian party was briefed by the NATO general about the fact that the current level of the Russian conventional forces exceeds, by 2,100 armored personnel carriers, 400 tanks, and 620 artillery pieces, the level established by the arms reduction treaty, and that the majority of those forces are concentrated in the rayon of Kaliningrad, as a threat to the Baltic states.

Situation in Gorazde—21 April**Serbs Closing on Town**

LD2104090094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The tragedy of Gorazde goes on. Thousands of shells have been destroying the center of the town while from the surrounding hills the chetniks are using their snipers and anti-aircraft weapons to monitor every movement in the town. No one can tell how many casualties there has been in the town. From all directions tanks are closing on the town center. According to as yet unconfirmed reports reaching the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] headquarters in Zagreb, Serb tanks are moving in the direction of part of the town which contains a munitions factory currently in Muslim hands.

Missiles Reportedly From Montenegro

AU2104091594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Report by Enes Musovic from Gorazde]

[Text] The chetniks have only stopped short of dropping an atom bomb on the residents of Gorazde. They are mercilessly killing the people with everything they have, destroying their houses. Yesterday afternoon, the chetniks wreaked havoc in Gorazde with aerosol surface-to-surface missiles PAB-275. Houses were destroyed as if made out of cards. The roofs of all buildings within a radius of 200 meters were blown off and the walls fractured. Dozens of people were killed and wounded. Owing to the constant fire by chetniks from the surrounding hills, the casualties have not yet been evacuated from these ruins.

According to reliable information, these missiles were launched from Pljevlje [in Montenegro, 60 km away]. This is yet another proof of the involvement by the so-called Yugoslavia in the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The crying and screaming of the seriously wounded were heard coming from these ruins throughout the night.

The Gorazde valley is a valley of pain, screaming, and horror. The constant deadly pounding by those who do not distinguish between killing people and drinking water last night killed Dr. Muhamed Pasic, who, despite a rain of sniper bullets, went to give medical help to the seriously wounded in the 1 May district.

This morning, the chetniks are continuing the realization of their bloody plan, wiping Gorazde from the face of the earth. The chetniks confirmed this morning that they only understand the language of force and that they are unable to live in peace. The inferno in Gorazde continues. Further human lives are being lost, so is the hope among the survivors that someone will finally demonstrate to the chetniks with force that the time of cavemen, barbarism, and unpunished crime has long gone.

Rockets Hit Hospital

AU2104132994 Paris AFP in English 1322 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Paris, April 21 (AFP)—Two rockets hit a Gorazde hospital building Thursday, killing 20 patients and visitors, the medical aid charity Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) said. MSF released the information after speaking with its staff in the besieged Moslem enclave.

TANJUG: Muslims Resume Attacks

LD2104085894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0809 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Cajnice, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—This morning, the Muslim army resumed its heavy artillery and mortar attacks from the center of Gorazde on the Serbian army positions on the right bank of the Drina, the command of the Hercegovina corps of the Serbian Army has announced. Strong Muslim forces are in evidence near the town's bridges. Serbian military sources see this as a likely indication that the Muslims are preparing to destroy the bridges. Throughout yesterday afternoon NATO planes frequently flew over Serbian army positions at an altitude of over 3,000 meters. This provided the Muslims with an additional motive to intensify their combat activities. Yesterday the Muslims tried to use for propaganda purposes an incident in the chemical plant in Vitkovici, four kilometers south of Gorazde, to accuse the Serbs of using poison gases.

The Herzegovina corps command stresses that due to the low level of technological process in the plant there is a danger of a genuine ecological catastrophe throughout the Drina basin. Over the past 24 hours two Serbian fighters have been wounded on the Gorazde front.

TANJUG: Gorazde Not 'Destroyed'

LD2104125394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1101 GMT 21 Apr 94

[By Scepán Aleksic]

[Excerpt] Serb positions near Gorazde, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—Gorazde is neither destroyed nor devastated and any comparison with the flattened town of Mostar or—as the Muslim propaganda likes to present it—with Vukovar is in complete contrast with the real situation. A group of journalists who visited the Serb infantry units on the front line had the opportunity to see the extent of the deception used by Muslim radio in Sarajevo and the Western media, which insist that Gorazde is in flames and ruins. There is a clear view of Gorazde from the Biserna hill on the right bank of the Drina river about 800 meters from the town center.

On the river's left bank several floors of the Gradina Hotel are burned down. Several windows on one of the highest buildings in the town center are blackened with smoke. The glass roof on the sports hall is broken. Roofs on several buildings have been damaged. Minor damage,

most likely from gunfire, can be seen on some buildings, and that is all. True, there are very few people in the streets and people run when crossing the bridges. But there is no evidence of any corpses in the streets, as reported by Muslim radio and the Western media that has been using it as its source. [Passage omitted]

Situation in Gorazde—Apr 20

More on 'Aerosol' Missiles

AU2004193394

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 20 April carries in its regular 45-minute newscast three reports on the situation in Gorazde.

The first item is compiled by Mediha Colo, who summarizes the contents of several "radio bridges" established today with Gorazde. In these reports, Gorazde Mayor Rijad Rascic and a group of local doctors in the war hospital describe the situation in the city. Colo says that "during the realization of the radio bridge, the communications center in Gorazde managed to establish a telephone line with the hospital, where doctors joined in the conversation." One unidentified doctor says that "just in front of the hospital, a smoke bomb landed, which did not make a lot of noise on impact, and some white smoke came out of it. Then there was something like a firecracker, which burst through a concrete surface. There were people under [words indistinct], the four of them were burned. One got away with horrendous burns. He keeps talking about some kind of air [words indistinct]." The doctor says "there are some missiles that are parachuted in. They fire the missile from above the city and it does not go over.... [pauses] It lands with a parachute on the street. The explosions are tremendous. They have even been firing Maljutka missiles at civilian targets, at apartments, at people." Another doctor says that "they are demolishing the hospital, there are people buried under the ruins, the hospital is almost totally in ruins."

Mediha Colo says that "in the next radio bridge, Rijad Rascic gave us information about missiles with aerosol fillings, which the chetniks have been firing today at Gorazde." Rascic says that "these missiles are intended to destroy fortifications and clear mine fields. They were used in the Vietnam War. They create pressure in the place of impact and kill within a radius of 80 meters and inflict serious injuries within a radius of 300 meters. We have some shrapnel from one of these missiles, and there is this mark on it: (SAD-275) and something else, but I do not have the part with the other mark in my hand here."

Enes Musovic then reports from Gorazde that "no one here knows what to say to yet another blatant lie launched by the fascist scum from Pale. The chetniks have neither halted the attacks on Gorazde nor has it even occurred to them to have a unilateral cease-fire. Just at a time when Belgrade Radio in its own fashion

lied to its servile listeners about an alleged cease-fire by the chetniks and the invented constant provocations from Gorazde, Gorazde came under cross fire from all the Chetnik artillery from all their positions." He says that "28 people were killed in just one hour today, 12 of them children." He says that "the chetniks are intensifying their attacks as the evening approaches. Attacks by strong infantry forces of Karadzic's murderers on the defense lines in the city center are supported by dozens of tanks from the direction of Kopaci and Jabuka."

Gorazde Mayor Rijad Rascic reports that "the chetnik criminal Radovan Karadzic says that only the left bank of the Drina River should be protected by the UN Protection Force. However, the public should know that there is no left and right bank in Gorazde. Gorazde is a city that cannot be divided, that will not be allowed to be divided. The people on the right bank have to know that they will not be betrayed; they should have absolutely no doubts about that. Everything on the right bank will be defended in the same way it is defended on the left bank. Anyone who might think that one or the other bank is safer is wrong. Both the left and the right bank are under a very serious attack, but our defenders are successfully organizing the defense with what they have, which is mostly their bodies."

Serbs Move Toward Arms Plant

AU2004180394 Paris AFP in English 1747 GMT
20 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, April 20 (AFP)—A dozen Bosnian Serb tanks were seen travelling towards the besieged enclave of Gorazde, apparently heading for a Moslem-held munitions factory, UN spokesman Matthew Nerzig said here Wednesday. Four tanks advanced towards the town centre from the eastern town of Kopaci and five others from Jabuka at 12:30 (1030 GMT), said Nerzig, quoting reports reaching UN offices from the Moslem enclave. The Serbs "could be interested" in the Pobjeda (Victory) arms factory, he added. The factory was not included in the ceasefire signed Tuesday evening by the United Nations and Bosnian Serb leaders at their stronghold in Pale, being left for an overall peace settlement.

Shelling Kills Captured Serbs

AU2004154094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Report by Mustafa Kurtovic from Gorazde]

[Excerpts] The latest information from the outskirts, with which contact was lost, is that the situation in Vitkovici is dramatic. Yesterday alone, 11 civilians, six of them children under 10, were seriously wounded. They were wounded in attacks by portable rocket launchers and tanks from (Dilje) hill. These people cannot be helped, as the road to Vitkovici is completely cut off. They cannot be brought to the hospital or the medical center. The situation in the city center resembles the worst scene from a horror film. [passage omitted]

We have also just received information from the official bodies that Maljutka guided missiles have hit the prison camp with 22 captured members of the fascist army. Six captured chetniks have been killed and eight seriously wounded in this barbaric attack. We have also received information from the clinic that 19 of our citizens have been wounded by sniper fire so far. Two of them, Milinkovic Dusan and his wife, have died, despite being given urgent aid.

Doctor Describes Conditions

LD2004173894 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1721 GMT 20 Apr 94

[By Moira Whittle, PA News]

[Excerpts] An Irish doctor today described in vivid and terrifying detail the horror of life for aid workers trapped in the besieged Bosnian town of Gorazde. Mary McLaughlin, who comes from Cork, is in a building in the town after travelling there to arrange medical evacuations before the violent Serb offensive began. She described, just hours before 10 patients were killed by a direct hit on the main hospital, how she and the other eight UN workers were "chronically frightened" and suffering daily from acute anxiety attacks. Dr McLaughlin also spoke of her feelings of helplessness in the face of the tragedy suffered by the people of Gorazde.

A despatch sent by the group after today's shelling said they were "running out of words to describe what is going on ... It seems the Serbs are prepared to level east Gorazde house-by-house in order to gain control over it".

The doctor said: "Yesterday at 6 PM shells landed at the United Nations Military Observers building with four of them rocking it and spreading debris into the rooms upstairs where the refugees shelter. One blew a hole in the side of the building adjacent to us and a little boy lost both his legs. We cannot go to the assistance of such cases as it would be suicidal to face direct fire ... How many others were injured we do not know, but the fire raged in the building all night as a grim reminder to us of how close we come to direct hits." [passage omitted]

For Gorazde residents and refugees, she said conditions were "appalling". "They have no food and have to risk their lives to get water. Most shelter in badly-damaged buildings and the wet, foggy weather is no help. But worst of all is the constant shelling of the town and few have cellars suitable to protect against this. We feel so helpless in the face of the great tragedy for the people of Gorazde. Not a family has escaped death."

UNPROFOR Still Not Arrived

LD2004171194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Zvornik, Bratunac, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—UN peacekeepers and a medical team have not yet succeeded in entering Gorazde, although the Serbian side has done

everything in its power to ensure that this mission is accomplished, TANJUG's correspondent learned from republic of Srpska army sources this evening. The same sources specified that republic of Srpska president Radovan Karadzic and UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi agreed on this mission on Sunday. It was allegedly agreed that 100 UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] members and a 60-member medical team should go to Gorazde. However, the Serbian side was not told about the reasons for delaying the start of the mission; it was told that the military and medical contingent could arrive in Gorazde tomorrow.

UNPROFOR Aid Convoy Leaves for Gorazde

AU2104091094 Paris AFP in English 0856 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 21 (AFP)—A convoy of 100 UN troops and 41 medical personnel left Sarajevo Thursday for the battered Moslem enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Rob Annink said. The convoy, including French, British and Ukrainian troops, would attempt to enter the enclave, where 65,000 are under Serbian attack, if the fighting there was not too intense, Annink said.

Croats Reportedly Repel Serbian Attacks on Brcko

LD2004162994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Early this afternoon the defenders of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army repelled a number of furious Serbian attacks supported by over 1,500 artillery shells on the Dubravice-Bodariste-Vranovaca defense line in the northeast section of the free territory of Brcko, the political department of the 108th HVO Infantry Brigade reports.

In the Bodariste area, the HVO defenders have destroyed one Serbian tank and disabled an estimated several dozen attackers, the 108th HVO Brigade reports. The defense lines remain unchanged. There have been no casualties among the fighters. One civilian has, however, been killed in an artillery attack on targets of the free territory behind the front line, the HVO reports.

Apart from this, some 50 shells, ranging from 20 to 203 mm caliber, land every hour on the free territory against the backdrop of constant Serbian infantry attacks on the lines of defense. In the north section of the battlefield the defenders of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army repelled an infantry attack on the Vitanovici and Bajici area last night. Seven Serbian tanks supported this attack. The defense lines remain unchanged. We do not know whether there were any casualties, the 108th HVO Infantry Brigade reports.

Croats Fire on Serbs

LD2004190794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Banja Luka, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—A woman was injured in Brcko today when the regular army of the Republic of Croatia launched an attack from multiple rocket-launchers, the information service of the 1st Krajina Corps of the republic of Srpska army said in Banja Luka this evening. This was the second multiple rocket-launcher attack today and it was carried out at about 1600. Altogether six rockets were fired from positions on the left bank of the Sava river, i.e. from the territory of the Republic of Croatia, and both attacks were launched on civilian targets. In addition to multiple rocket-launcher attacks, Croatian artillery fired 16 shells on the [Bosnia] Serb villages of Krepsic and Loncari from positions near Zupanja and Bosnjaci, also from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Nobody was wounded in the attack but considerable material damage was caused.

Republic of Srpska army units were forced to respond to the attacks.

All this confirms assumptions that an intensification of attacks can be expected, which is aimed at severing the corridor which links the republic of Serb Krajina and the republic of Srpska with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Army Destroys Serbian Tank

AU2004194994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Report by Hamiz Deronjic from Brcko]

[Excerpt] Another enemy tank—the fourth one since the outset of the massive chetnik offensive—has been destroyed on the Brcko front. After hours of shelling our positions this morning, the Serbian aggressor early this afternoon made yet another attempt to break through the defense lines with strong armored and mechanized forces. With heavy artillery support, the tank and infantry attack was carried out in two directions, toward Omerbegovaca-Vranovaca and Boderiste-Vranovaca. The fighters of the 108th Infantry Brigade and the 108th Motorized Brigade responded well to this attack. About a dozen chetniks were killed in infantry fighting and the fighters of the 108th Brigade fired a precise shot and destroyed a chetnik tank with the entire crew.

The fighters of the legendary 108th Motorized Brigade have asked us to say that this was their way of expressing their support for the defenders and citizens of Gorazde. They say: We cannot rout the chetniks around Gorazde but, for Gorazde, we will rout the chetniks here. [passage omitted]

Serbs Say Army Used Poison Gas in Glamoc

LD2104120694 Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Poison gases were used against Serbian positions on the Glamoc front last night [19 April], forcing Serbian fighters to seek urgent medical care. Here is a report by Slavisa Sabljic:

[Sabljic] Aircraft flew over Serbian positions on the Glamoc front in the republic of Srpska at about 1800 yesterday evening. These planes, which are as yet unidentified but which were definitely enemy planes, left behind a thick veil of smoke forcing all Serbian fighters on the front line to seek urgent medical care to deal with breathing discomforts and sharp stomach pains.

Serbian military sources are awaiting the results of a microbiological analysis of specimens taken from the affected soldiers before giving any further details about the incident. They are confident, however, that an as yet unknown poison gas was used for the first time and that the brave soldiers of Glamoc were the first to experience the toxicity of the gas.

The thick toxic smoke was released by propeller aircraft which throughout yesterday flew over the Serbian positions on (Goricna), Golija, and (Bujaca), about 15 km from Glamoc.

[Announcer] We have learned that the specimens are being analyzed in Banja Luka and that the results of the analysis will be announced the day after tomorrow.

Karadzic Says Serbs 'Ready for Talks'

LD2004180694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, today welcomed British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd's statement that the peace process in Bosnia would be renewed soon. In an official statement—TANJUG received a copy of the text—Karadzic said that "the Serbian side is ready for talks, but only on the basis of equality."

"This means that the international community must make a step forward in connection with the sanctions, imposed on the entire Serbian nation, before any talks could start," stressed Karadzic. He specified that the international community must ensure that this time the Muslims negotiate with good intentions. The Muslim military offensives will no longer be tolerated and the Serbs will respond to them with resolve. In this context Karadzic reiterated that the Muslims caused the latest clashes by launching an offensive from Gorazde a month ago and that "they remembered Gorazde was a safe area only when they suffered a setback in their offensive." The international community should have inquired what a Muslim army division in full combat gear was doing in a safe area, said Karadzic.

In order for an "agreement to be likely," as suggested by Hurd, the international community ought to "stop playing the Muslim game of war and peace" and it must oppose the Muslim right to veto every peace plan which had already been agreed with the European Union and the United Nations. "The international community ought to make it quite clear to the Muslims that their impossible ambition to control the entire Bosnia, as a method of sabotaging peace, will not longer be tolerated," said Karadzic. "Peace will come to Bosnia only when the international community accepts the obvious truth that the Serbs have the right to self-determination just like the other ethnic communities," said Karadzic, concluding that "immoral and totally counterproductive sanctions and threats of force cannot conceal this obvious truth."

Silajdzic Sends Letter to NATO's Woerner

AU2104113694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Following the NATO decision to positively respond to request by the UN secretary general concerning the use of NATO air forces for the protection of safe havens in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haris Silajdzic, head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina government, has sent a letter to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, in which he says:

The NATO decision to positively respond to the request by the UN secretary general concerning the use of NATO air forces for the protection of the safe havens in Bosnia represents significant progress that will improve the safety of the civilians exposed to aggression from Serbia and Montenegro and lead to serious (?negotiations). On the other hand, Gorazde needs measures that should be taken immediately to save the children, women, and men exposed to intensive fire. Many of them were forced to come out in the streets with choking gas and irritants, and then massacred with mortar and sniper fire. As of yesterday, the aggressor forces have been using surface-to-surface missiles, which have devastating effects. Allow me to remind you that nearly 80,000 people have been forced to go to a very small area. They represent an easy (?moving, target) [words indistinct]. Your excellency, the bloodshed must immediately be stopped with all available means. I am sure that your organization will take action (?in the name of humanity and justice) without delay. The mass killing of the innocent civilians of Gorazde must stop.

This was stated in a letter which Haris Silajdzic has sent to Manfred Woerner.

Croats To Compromise on Silajdzic Presidency

LD2004170594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Members of the executive committee and chairmen of the municipal councils of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) of Bosnia-Herzegovina have

confirmed their support for full implementation of the Washington agreement. At their meeting in Mostar, they also discussed the political and security situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Zdenko Vranjes has filed this report:

[Vranjes] Addressing the members of the executive committee and the chairmen of the municipal committees of the HDZ in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kresimir Zubak, president of the presidential council of the Croat republic, said that a majority of the Croatian and Bosniak people want to implement the Washington agreement and the constitution of the federation. The minority of the Croatian nation which would like to obstruct the Washington agreement must be aware that it fulfills the interests of the entire Croatian nation both in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia. We must continue to stress that Bosnia-Herzegovina is our homeland in order to prevent anybody from making exclusive claims on it.

Zubak said that talks on the presidency of the federation in the interim period will be resumed with Bosniak representatives on Saturday. Under the constitution, the Croatian side wants to have their man as president in the interim stage. However, Zubak added, the Croatian side is prepared to accept a compromise if the Muslim side insists on a Muslim president of the federation and if Haris Silajdzic is nominated for this position.

Official Says Serbs Waiting for NATO Attack

BR2104134394 Milan L'INDIPENDENTE in Italian 21 Apr 94 p 11

[Report on interview with anonymous Bosnian Serb Government representative by Fausto Biloslavo in Pale; date not given: "We Are Getting Ready for the Worst"]

[Text] Pale—"At this moment it is as if we were on the edge of a precipice, waiting for NATO to launch a large-scale attack," a member of the Bosnian Serb Government observes realistically. He agrees to speak with L'INDIPENDENTE only on the understanding that he will remain anonymous. "It is becoming difficult to launch an attack on Gorazde because our positions are now very close to the Muslims," the minister reveals. "If they decide to bomb us they could miss the target and hit their friends. NATO is ready to attack other targets such as electric power plants, telecommunications centers, government buildings, and obviously military detachments." An Gulf-style escalation of the war is therefore emerging. Meanwhile, in the streets of Pale, the capital of the self-proclaimed republic of Srpska, the loudspeakers from the police cars are asking people to donate blood to build up the stocks in hospitals. "We are getting ready for the worst," the L'INDIPENDENTE source assures. "We do not have antiaircraft bunkers for the civilians, but there are plans to evacuate the people quickly to the hills, far from military objectives, as our grandparents did during World War II."

Over the past few days, fathers of a certain age and government personnel are being drafted, even for very short periods of duty and in the zones behind the front, but in a kind of general mobilization. "Bosnia is not the Iraqi desert and it will not be easy to hit us," maintains the Bosnian Serb government representative. "The NATO pilots rely on computers, but when they have to find the objective in these impervious areas, they are obliged to fly at minimal height and at low speed. At that moment they are vulnerable to our anti-aircraft weapons." According to the minister, NATO has scarce and often outdated information: "In one raid on Gorazde they hit a civilian house. A command had in fact been installed there, but 15 days earlier." Another possible NATO target is a series of bridges on the river Drina dividing Serbia from Bosnia. "They can forget about cutting off our supplies and logistics by destroying the bridges," maintains the government source. "We have several alternatives ready. It would be a psychological move instead, designed to isolate us from the rest of the world, but in any case Serbia will not remain neutral in this war." The Russians instead are viewed with suspicion after Yeltsin's warning to the Serbs to withdraw from Gorazde. The people are starting to think that their "Slav" friends are turning their shoulders on them and more than one person, even in government circles, has made it known "that there are 400 Russians in the Serbian quarter of Sarajevo. If Moscow were to give the Americans and the Europeans the go-ahead to bomb us, they would not be able to escape that quickly without our giving them a lesson first." On the Serbian side the deadly game with NATO is being carried out by two people: president Radovan Karadzic [of the republic of Srpska] is playing the political game using a carrot, while General Ratko Mladic [commander of the Bosnian Serb army] is playing the military game using a stick. "Mladic leads the Serbian forces at Gorazde in person," the L'INDIPENDENTE source notes. His charisma among the soldiers is increasing by the hour and this improves the morale of the troops."

Everybody is wondering whether NATO will also bomb Pale and the L'INDIPENDENTE source answers: "There are no military targets here, but there would be a

symbolic value in the bombing of Pale. I am certain that it would be the last card that the allies could play."

Serbs Criticize French Medical Aid Agency

LD2004151494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1452
GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, Apr 20 (TANJUG)—Health Minister of the Bosnian Serb state (R.S.) Dragan Kalinic Wednesday warned that representatives of the "Medecins sans Frontieres" organization were misusing their humanitarian mission by giving political connotations to their reports.

In a letter addressed to Eric Stobbaerts, "Medecins sans Frontieres" mission chief in Belgrade, Kalinic said he was astonished at the statements by the organization's representatives in Gorazde, Moslem enclave in south-eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina and by its central office in Paris, which contained negative political connotations for the leadership of the Serb state in that former Yugoslav republic.

Kalinic asked "Medecins sans Frontieres" to keep to the activities within the framework of its mandate, recalling that the Serb authorities had highly appreciated the cooperation with this organization in the past, the R.S. news agency SRNA reports. The statements by the M.S.F. members have for some time been rife with anti-Serb stances, particularly those made by its representatives now in the Gorazde enclave, where the fighting escalated at the end of March after Moslems—as confirmed by U.N. representatives—started attacking the neighboring Serb territories.

Nevertheless, the M.S.F. representatives in Gorazde keep pointing out in their reports that Serbs are attacking that safe area, even though it was being used for military actions against the Serbs.

The U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali recently warned that Moslem safe areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina were being used for preparations for military actions, and that lawlessness prevailed and prostitution was common in those areas.

RSK's Martić Rules Out Remaining in Croatia*LD1604010394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2249
GMT 15 Apr 94*

[Excerpt] Prague, April 15 (TANJUG)—President of the republic of Serb Krajina Milan Martić on Friday ruled out any possibility that Krajina be a part of Croatia.

"The only way to peace is the separation of Krajina from Croatia," Martić underscored in the Krajina political seat of Knin in an interview to the Belgrade correspondent of the Czech CTK news agency. "Life together is absolutely out of the question," he said.

"The sooner this reality is accepted, life will be better in Krajina and in Croatia," Martić said.

"Theoretically, it is possible, if Croats amend their constitution, that the (Krajina) people might agree to co-existence. And yet, even then, it would have to be solely through the will of the people," Martić warned.

"As far as I am concerned, personally, I would never approve that. I do not trust Croats...(because) Serbs have bitter experiences [words indistinct] the Krajina president said from [passage indistinct]

Martić also strongly denied that President Slobodan Milošević of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia had pressured him to get Krajina Serbs to agree to autonomy within Croatia in exchange for the lifting of the international embargo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"Milošević is for us to chose our own way," Martić underscored.

Martić sees a compromise by the Serb side not in agreement to autonomy within Croatia, but in the restoration of economic cooperation and comprehensive normalization of mutual ties. "The main condition is—equal relations between the republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia as two independent states."

"We are for peace, but not at all costs. We shall not buckle down under supposedly democratic pressure to give up our right to self-determination," Martić (?concluded). [passage omitted]

Bosnian Serbs Attack Croat Areas*LD2004172894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Bosnian Serbs launched three artillery attacks on Zupanja and Bosnjaci at around 1445 today. The early warning center in Zupanja sounded a general alert at 1445 and again at 1600, when a second attack began. A third attack began at 1650. Most of the shells landed in the Zupanja area. According to the reports we have received so far, dozens of mortar shells were fired on Zupanja and Bosnjaci, causing considerable material damage. Nobody was injured in the attacks.

HDZ Splits; Anti-Tudjman Members Form Party*LD2004180194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] A news conference was held today in the European House in Zagreb by Stipe Mesic, the Croatian Assembly speaker, and Josip Manolic, the speaker of its Chamber of Counties, on behalf of the promotional board of a new political party, the Croatian Independent Democrats [Hrvatski Nezavisni Demokrati]. This promotional board has already been joined, they said, by 17 deputies from the two assembly chambers from the ranks of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ].

They cited the impossibility of influencing the articulation of party and state policies within Croatia's ruling party, the HDZ, as their reason behind the creation of the new party. These policies are in a state of crisis because, as they say, they are not discussed by the party's leadership since all decisions, they say, are taken by only one man. We were trying to initiate, within the HDZ, a debate on the fundamental issues of democracy and the law-governed state, and particularly on HDZ policies toward Bosnia-Herzegovina but we were denied this, Manolic, Mesic and their fellow-members Slavko Degoricija, Pavao Tomislav Duka, and Perica Juric explained. This is why, they said, they are going to convene the founding assembly of the Croatian Independent Democrats as early as this month.

We are deliberately aiming to bring about a polarization within the HDZ, Mesic and Manolic added. We do not intend to join the ranks of opposition parties. We want to cooperate with all parties, including even the HDZ. We support the government of Nikica Valentinc while we reserve the right to criticize him for having no articulate program for Croatia's development, and for the implementation of privatization and denationalization. We want the government to govern in keeping with the constitutional principle of triple division of power, Stipe Mesic and Josip Manolic said at their news conference.

Russian Ambassador Calls For Bosnian Cease-Fire

AU2004113794 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English
20 Apr 94

[Unattributed report: "Russian Ambassador's First News Conference"]

[Text] At his first news conference, Russian Ambassador to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Yuriy Petrovich Trusin announced his country will open an embassy in Skopje at the beginning of May. The conference focused on Moscow's position on events in Bosnia. He described the situation there as dangerous. The Russian view, he said, is this conflict must be resolved through an equal cooperation between the United States, Russia, and the European Union, but under UN surveillance. Moscow insists that the parties in the war declare an immediate cease-fire and sit down at the negotiating table. Trusin said Russia also demands and urgent lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. In regard to yesterday's statement by [Deputy Foreign Minister] Churkin that Russia ought to break negotiations with Bosnian Serbs, because of their failure to keep promises, Trusin said it was an emotional remark and added his country's attitude toward the Bosnian crisis remains unchanged.

Improved Situation in Petroleum Imports

AU2004184394 Skopje VECER in Macedonian
20 Apr 94 p 3

[Report on interview with Ljubomir Janev, general manager of the "Makpetrol" oil firm, by S. Padora; place and date not given: "Driving at Old Prices"]

[Text] The government decision of two days ago on the abolition of the 10-percent customs fee for import of oil derivatives not only will help avoid possible disturbances in the fuel supply, but it will also mean a stable price, that is, maintenance of the price that is now paid by consumers. If not for longer, users can stay "cool" at least until 30 June, which is the date until which this decision remains valid. It is also a period in which all is possible, even what the optimists hope for—the lifting of the embargo imposed by the southern neighbor on Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] on 16 February.

What the "abolition" of the customs fee in fact means, and how it is going to be reflected in the price, the supply, and consumption is the subject of our discussion with "Makpetrol" general manager Ljubomir Janev.

Costs

The additional burden on the price, as Mr. Janev said, was a result of the eastern transport corridor which has been used since the embargo. More precisely, according to the specific customs regulations, the crude oil arriving in the country for refining was not taxed until that

period. That same fact brought about the only possible alternative—to "drag" only oil products for which taxes are to be paid, which burdened the price and increased the costs. Moreover, the transport costs became five times greater than before (when the crude oil arrived by railroad from Thessaloniki directly to Miladinovci).

"Because of all this, and with the aim of avoiding difficulties in the supply, we asked the government to abolish the customs taxes on oil products, since it was not our desire to buy it abroad and transport it via the eastern corridor—that was simply imposed on us. After some discussions in government commissions it was finally agreed that our request was substantial and it was good that the government understood the problem, because by decreasing the taxes a more stable price and a better management is provided," Ljubomir Janev said.

On the other hand, since the 10-percent customs fee applied after the embargo was simply not "planned" in the annual budget, it was decided to apply it retroactively from 1 March.

Supply

As far as the situation in the supply is concerned, as Ljubomir Janev pointed out, the situation is under full "control." Although there is a quantity of crude oil in the Thessaloniki port valued at \$7 million (\$4 million for "Makpetrol" and \$3 million for the Skopje Oil Refinery), for the time being all financial deals for purchasing oil derivatives from the East and the West are successfully covered. At this moment, 5,500 metric tons of Italian gas have been transferred in the country, and an equal quantity is expected to arrive at the Refinery from the same supplier. Moreover, an agreement was signed this month with the Bulgarian company "Neftekhim" for 42,000 tons of derivatives from Bulgarian producers. It is also news that in the days to come there will be discussions on a peak state level for convoy transports that will cross the Macedonian-Bulgarian border two to three times per day in a well-organized way and without delays. This would buy time, but the very fact that the time and handling costs will be shortened means a good saving.

"The experiences of the previous and the present embargo have greatly contributed to our good organization and, with the great help of the government and its interventions, the road for the derivatives has been shortened. Instead of using fuel tankers travelling for days from Burgas to Macedonia, we are now using the railroad transport across Bulgaria. More precisely, the derivatives arrive by railroad to Sandanski, Plovdiv, and Sofia, where they are loaded on fuel tankers; thus the time is shortened and the distribution dynamic is much better," Ljubomir Janev told us.

Beside the eastern transport, there are negotiations with Albania for the possible use of the western coast. There is an intention to lease two tanks for light derivatives in Valona, and it has been agreed to purchase 7,000 tons of "virgin oil" for Macedonia, in order to discharge the

capacities which can be used for storing derivatives for Macedonia from Italy, Rijeka, or other suppliers sailing on the Adriatic Sea.

Commentary Views Illegal Arms Trade, Weapons

AU2004155594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in
Macedonian 20 Apr 94 p 4

[Commentary by Z. Petrov: "Is Only Big Money at Stake?"]

[Text] In Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] there exists a real hunger for arms. According to psychologists and sociologists, the reason for such an enormous increase in interest for these kinds of objects for taking human lives lies in the rising uncertainty of the citizens for their personal security, as well as in the psychological determination preconditioned by the military activities in our close and not-so-close region. One of the most common examples of the enormous interest of the citizens in the purchase of arms are the long queues in the Interior Ministry department for issuing permits to carry and possess arms. As a matter of fact, the shops selling these "goods" are the ones that are the most visited in Skopje. The shopkeepers say that guns, firearms, hunting knives, and "Rambo" knives are the most popular.

In other words, arms are slowly becoming an indispensable tool for the new businessmen, politicians, and often for common people, too, who are ready to pay 1,000 German marks [DM] or more to purchase a good "Magnum," "Beretta," or the somewhat cheaper "Zbrojovka," "Zastava," or "TT." In a way, one can somehow understand the interest in firearms for personal protection reasons, such as the guns and pistols for which there is a legal regulation for carrying and possessing (the permit issued by the Interior Ministry). The problem arises when we talk about light infantry armaments—automatic rifles, machine guns, mortars, bombs, mines, or sniper rifles, in which case we cannot speak of a traditional Balkan love for "shooting" or self-protection. Even at weddings, when only until recently guns and pistols were fired, we now often hear the firing of automatic weapons as if it were a real front line. Wherever there are arms, there are unprofessional handlers (there was such a case two years ago when a citizen was killed while a person was shooting dogs with an automatic rifle), but there are also real professionals, that is eliminators, as was the case of the triple murder in Strumica.

The police reports say that last year 42 cases (there were 39 in 1992) of illegal trading and possession of explosives

were discovered. Then (in 1993) four machine guns, 34 automatic rifles, 33 bombs, a mine, 8,532 rounds of different ammunition, 6,290 grams of explosives, 112 meters of slow burning fuse cord, 72 powder cartridges, and 50 explosive fuses were taken from 92 persons. In most of the cases the arms were bought through different channels from Bosnia and Herzegovina, from Croatia, as well as from the arsenal of the former Yugoslav People's Army, from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Speaking about the illegal arms trade, it is a well-known fact that they can be purchased at almost all greater market places in Macedonia, and the prices for these "assortments" are not a secret at all. "Kalashnikovs," for instance, can be purchased from DM1,500-2,000 apiece, but if greater quantity is bought, the price is drastically decreased. Automatic rifles of the types "Makarov" or "Scorpio" can be bought for DM1,000-1,500; pistols and semiautomatic pistols, depending on the model and the year of production, cost from DM400-1,000; a bomb sells for DM50; while the average price for ammunition is DM1 per round, again depending on the kind of weapon it is used for.

What is especially indicative in the context of arms smuggling is the fact that most often they end up in western Macedonia. As a matter of fact, it is no secret that the citizens of Albanian nationality are the constantly hungry market for weapons, and they are the greatest customers of the illegal arms trade. The big actions of the Interior Ministry in the Struga village of Radolista of a year and a half ago, as well as the recent action in Gostivar, connected to the "all-Albanian paramilitary army," indicated the last station for smuggled arms, because aside from the common automatic rifles which are usually supplied from Albania (the Chinese version of the "Kalashnikov"), bombs were also discovered, as well as radio stations, mobilization lists, literature, uniforms....

In spite of the rigorous fines, according to which criminal charges become unavoidable, it is a fact that arms are coming into our country from all sides. The statistical data related to the phenomenon called illegal import and possession of arms indicate a tendency toward continual rise, and the number of these criminal acts is constantly increasing. It is a social problem, with further serious political implications, because it is not just necessary to stop an illegal profitable business, but a potential powder keg which can explode at any time. Ultimately, the danger can be clearly viewed in the fact that nobody in the state knows the psychological stability or mental balance of each one of those carrying a "Colt," a "Magnum," a "Smith & Wesson," or a "Walther" under the coat.

Arms Trafficking Route to Bosnia Revealed

BR2004145294 Milan L'EUROPEO in Italian
20 Apr 94 pp 60-62

[Article by Alessandro Marzo Magno: "That Cursed Bridge"]

[Text] It has been nicknamed "the Jansa road," from the name of Ljubljana's former defense minister, a pacifist converted to military uniform. It runs along a river that the Slovenes call the Kolpa, and the Croats the Kupa—the river that marks the border between the two republics born from the ashes of Yugoslavia.

The road is used to transport freight that is best kept hidden from prying eyes. Mainly weapons. And even the maps have been modified in order to facilitate this traffic. Thus a bridge has "disappeared," though in fact it still exists, and it is quite possible to cross it, even with heavy vehicles. The bridge joins Slovenia to Croatia at a place called Bosljiva Loka. It is a border crossing, but the fact is marked by only a couple of road signs.

The one on the right bank reads, "Republic of Croatia," while the Slovene notice reads, "Warning, state frontier." But in between there is not the slightest trace of any border post. There are no barriers, and it is possible to pass easily from one country to the other without being stopped by police or customs officers.

Along the road there are other bridges across the river. On those there are fixed border posts for passport controls. Only over the bridge that has "disappeared" is it possible to cross the border freely. Last Sunday, as tourists crossed on their way to the nearby Osilnica riding school, a Croatian police car parked at the end of the bridge and the policemen in it glanced wearily at their passports. On Sundays and holidays and at night neither the Croats nor the Slovenes carry out checks.

This strange fact is explained by looking at the map. Across the bridge, the road runs for some 10 km through Croatian territory. It is almost all surfaced, apart from a stretch of a few kilometers of dirt road, which is nevertheless perfectly passable. After passing through some tiny peasant villages, the road ends at Brodna Kupi. Here there is another bridge joining Croatia and Slovenia—this one equipped with police, customs officers, barriers, flags, and everything necessary for a border post.

Brodna Kupi is the first Croatian town on the road to Delnice and Ogulin, two towns on the Lika front, where Serbs and Croats have waged a bitter struggle. A small turning leads to the road to Bihac in Bosnia. In this area Slovenia and Bosnia are no more than about 100 km apart. The road in question is the shortest route for bringing weapons to the Bosnian Muslims.

The inhabitants of the villages around Bosljiva Loka say that there is a fairly steady flow of vehicles, considering the fact that it is a country road. They include covered trucks with no identifying markings.

On the Slovene side, near the bridge that "disappeared," there is the area of Kocevka Reka. It covers 76,000 hectares and includes 1,400 km of roads. Under Yugoslavia it was entirely off limits, a military zone. Under the mountains there are outright citadels where the Belgrade government was supposed to take refuge in the event of a war.

But Ljubljana always regarded Kocevka Reka as its own: Only the commanding generals were Serbs; all the other officers and men were Slovenes. The Yugoslav Federal Army, whose officers were prevalently Serbs, was forced to accept this unpleasant fact.

Muslim Volunteers Come From Fiume [Rijeka]

After Ljubljana became independent from Belgrade in summer 1991 part of Kocevka Reka was turned into a nature reserve. This pleased the inhabitants of the village that gave its name to the area; since then they have no longer needed a special permit to leave their homes. Another part remained a military zone.

The main difference from Yugoslav times is that the Slovene soldiers serving in the area have changed their uniform from that of the Belgrade army to that of Ljubljana's armed forces. And the inhabitants of the villages remaining within the military zone still suffer restrictions on their freedom of movement.

A kind of weapons bazaar has apparently been established in the military bases of Kocevka Reka, from which the Bosnian Croats and Muslims equip themselves. Moreover, the area—strictly controlled and far from prying eyes—is apparently also used to train the volunteers on their way to the combat zone. These are mainly people originating from the Middle Eastern Islamic countries, who join the Bosnian Muslims in the name of their common faith.

They reach the port of Fiume, where they mix with the Bosnian refugees. The capital of the Quarnero region is some 40 km away from Delnice. A further 12 km away is Brodna Kupi, and the start of the "Jansa road," which leads to Slovenia.

The weapons reach Kocevka Reka chiefly along two routes. The first and shortest runs through the port of Capodistria [Koper], where there are a number of warehouses—which it is inadvisable to approach—under constant surveillance by armed guards. The second route is from Hungary and brings Soviet-manufactured weapons that used to equip all the armies of the East, including the Yugoslav Federal Army.

Germany and Austria Arm Slovenia

There is a third route, from Austria and Germany. The Slovene economy has been taken under the protective wing of the Deutsche mark area, and it is no secret to anyone that Ljubljana's armed forces are equipped with Austrian vehicles: It is enough to look at the off-road vehicles and trucks that comprise the military convoys.

However, there is no proof that weapons from Vienna or Bonn reach the bazaar at Kocevski Reka.

However, behind all this weapons trafficking, there is apparently former Ljubljana Defense Minister Janez Jansa, who was thrown out of the Slovene Government three weeks ago.

It is he above all who should be given credit for the rapid Slovene victory over the federal-Serbian troops between the end of June and the beginning of July 1991. Independence cost Ljubljana some 10 days of war and seven lives. There were 46 casualties on the Serbian side—a trifle, compared to what has happened in Croatia and in the massacres in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Slovenia continued for a while to accumulate weapons, but soon the war shifted far from its borders. Then Ljubljana was able to begin a profitable trade. Its main clients are Croatia and Bosnia. But there are people willing to swear that weapons from Ljubljana have gone to Serbia too. Certainly, Serbian goods, having passed via Hungary, do end up in Slovene stores, and Slovene goods supplement Serbian contraband.

A few months ago a couple of Serbian traders introduced themselves to the Slovene concessionaire of a very well known American sports shoe manufacturer; they bought 3,000 pairs, paid for them in cash, loaded them onto a truck, and left for Serbia.

Nepalese and Ukrainian soldiers monitor the UN blockade along the Hungarian-Serb borders. Many people maintain that these soldiers, who suffer chronic poverty in their own countries, are not unresponsive to the rustle of dollar bills. In other words, just as shoes get by, so too could rifles.

The fact that not everything was clear in relations between Jansa and Belgrade is confirmed also by the Belgrade daily *POLITIKA*, which has been cited at length by Ljubljana radio. The police of the Serbian-Montenegrin confederation arrested Bazodar Spasic, apparently a senior agent of the UBDA, the former Yugoslav secret service.

He was in possession not only of photographs showing a number of Slovene leaders in the company of prostitutes, but also of documentary evidence of contacts between Ljubljana's defense minister and the Serbian secret services. This information comes from a Serbian source and is unconfirmed, but it is somewhat significant if set within the broader context of secret relations between the republics of the former Yugoslavia.

Sometimes the arms trafficking mechanism breaks down. This happened, for instance, when 11 containers carrying 120 metric tons of weapons destined for the Bosnian Muslims were seized at Maribor airport. This caused a considerable political scandal in Slovenia, involving Jansa and former Interior Minister Igor Bavcar.

According to reports in the Slovene press, the VIS (Ljubljana's secret service) strongly "advised against" checking and monitoring consignments of "humanitarian aid" leaving Maribor airport for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

There was an attempt to blame everything on the VIS chief in Maribor, Silvo Komar, and on Bosnia's representative in Slovenia, Hasan Cengic. Former VIS Director Miha Brejc said that he knows absolutely nothing about any arms trafficking. But then he added a remark that directly implicates Jansa and Bavcar: "Is it conceivable that in such important and delicate matters anything could happen without the agreement of the political leadership?"

"I Acted in the Interests of the Slovene State"

Komar was described by Jansa as the "owner of the 120 tons of weapons." But after a long silence, Komar replied in the weekly *MLADINA*: "All my actions," he argued, "and those of our service were carried out on the basis of a rigid hierarchical responsibility and on the instructions of the head of the service at the time. I was told that everything that went on was in the interests of the Slovene state. Since the weapons were discovered, I think that Jansa and Brejc know much more about them than I do."

When questioned as a witness by the court in Maribor, Jansa, not knowing what to say, accused the investigating magistrate of misdirecting the inquiry and of being ill acquainted with the Slovene laws governing arms exports.

Jansa also accused the magistrate of having indirectly helped the Bosnian Hasan Cengic, an arms dealer "against whom the Slovene bodies concerned have issued an international arrest warrant."

It may have been a coincidence, but two days before his statement Jansa received a letter from the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic said that he was surprised by the arrest warrant issued against Cengic and pointed out that the Slovene Government leaders were fully aware that Cengic was Bosnia's authorized representative and was acting on the Sarajevo government's behalf within the context of Slovene laws. So it was not private trafficking on Cengic's own account, as Jansa maintained.

According to the official account, the seizure took place because Ljubljana's Defense Ministry received an anonymous message identifying the location of the secret consignment. According to Croatian sources, however, the Slovenes thus got themselves out of trouble after selling the same consignment of weapons twice—to the Bosnians and the Croats.

Personnel Changes Following Jansa's Replacement

AU1304140794

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene of 5 April on page 2 carries a report by Vladimir Vodusek about personnel changes in the Defense Ministry and various military services following the dismissal of the former Defense Minister Janez Jansa, which the author sees as the beginning "of the disbandment of the Moris special brigade and the intensive banishment of Jansa's influence in the army."

As is reported, Tone Krkovic, commander of the special brigade Moris, and Darko Njavro, deputy security commander of the Moris special brigade, were relieved of their posts. Vodusek writes that these changes took place before the inquiry commission produced its final report about the incident in Depala Vas, which resulted in Jansa's ousting.

Although Krkovic proposed Boris Mikuz as his replacement, Vodusek writes, "[new Defense Minister] Jelko Kacin decided for Vojko Pavlin from the Moste Polje training center, who was until the July war the commander of the Ljubljana province, and was, together with Miha Butara, replaced by Janez Slapar. The new commander will probably set up an entirely new office of assistants. In political circles, one could have detected, for quite some time, plans to reduce the numerical and striking power of the special brigade, which also got its epilogue in the accusations about the coup, the replacement of Janez Jansa, the dismissal of Anton Krkovic, and the stripping of Darko Njavro's authority.

"Beside Tone Krkovic, both [defense] state secretaries Franci Znidarsic and Gorazd Vidrih offered their resignations. Jelko Kacin did not accept the resignation of Albin Gutman, commander of the republican Territorial Defense Headquarters, although one could have noticed from the media that he 'allegedly stood too much to the side' in the Smolnikar case. On the other hand, government adviser Miran Bogataj, who took over the internal investigation of Milan Smolnikar's arrest and in the [parliamentary] commissions supposedly advocated Janez Jansa too openly while did not identify with the views of the Liberal Democrats enough, will be promoted to a state secretary."

As the article says further, Milan Zver, the chief of Jansa's cabinet, and press representative Nika Dolinar are also leaving the Defense Ministry and so is Maja Stojnic, who is in charge of the international liaison.

"Big surprise are the rumors that the hitherto chief of the Government Information Bureau Mile Setinc would become the head of the military security service [VOMO]. Dusan Mikus, as a moderate professional agent, is probably really not the most suitable man for

the potential use of VOMO for political purposes, however the military intelligence service is, amidst the general chaos, the only satisfactory constant in the intelligence sphere," Vodusek writes.

Minister on Economic Trends, Restructuring

AU1204191894 Vienna DIE PRESSE ("Slovenia" Supplement) in German 12 Apr 94 pp 1, VIII

[Interview with Davorin Kracun, Slovene minister for economic relations, by Guenther Guggenberger; place and date not given: "Upswing After Recession"]

[Text] [Guggenberger] Mr. Minister, in the past few years, production decreased while unemployment increased in Slovenia. What are the trends?

[Kracun] In some fields there was still a decline in 1993. However, according to the calculations made so far, there has been an upswing in the economy as a whole.

[Guggenberger] What is your explanation for that?

[Kracun] For our economy, which exports more than 60 percent of its production, the worldwide recession and above all the recession in Europe was a major obstacle. Now the situation is more favorable. It was possible to open up new markets, and we have changed some general conditions in our country.

[Guggenberger] What do you mean by that?

[Kracun] For some time, a new law on enterprises has been in force in our country. The next step was tax reform, as a result of which the taxation of profits decreased to 25 percent. Compared to other countries, this is very low. Foreign investors can import machines and plants without paying duties. We resolved privatization as one of the most important reform steps. It concerns the field of the previous social property—these were firms that were formally in the hands of the employees, who, however, did not have any right to sell them; enterprises owned by development funds and bank reorganization funds, and actual state property such as steel works, the postal service, and railroads.

[Guggenberger] How far has the privatization process advanced?

[Kracun] Some years will pass before it is concluded. Some enterprises have to get out of the deficit zone.

[Guggenberger] That is to say, the state will hardly act as an entrepreneur in the future?

[Kracun] Yes, in this way we are following Western developments.

[Guggenberger] There are plans to develop the infrastructure.

[Kracun] In the next five years, we will build 300 km of superhighways, above all in the southwest-northeast direction from the port of Koper to Lendava at the

Hungarian border and the connection between Maribor and Spielfeld. The railroads will also be modernized.

[Guggenberger] Economic relations with the European states are of utmost importance for Slovenia. What are they to be like in the future?

[Kracun] Several agreements with the EU and the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] are already in force now. The trade and cooperation agreement with Hungary guarantees us duty free trade for about 90 percent of all industrial goods. The trade agreement with the EFTA is not quite so favorable. At present, we are negotiating a free trade agreement with this group of countries. In this way, both EFTA and the EU will be relatively open markets for us, except for agricultural products. Moreover, there are bilateral free trade agreements with the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The same with Hungary and Poland will follow. We also have appropriate contacts with the Baltic states, Romania, and Bulgaria.

Velayati, Businessmen View Involvement in B-H

*AU1904171494 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
16 Apr 94 p 3*

[Article by Bozena Kriznik: "Behind the Political Stage: Talks With Eight Directors"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 April— A recent visit of Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati in Slovenia was not of a purely political nature as one could have concluded from the composition of the Iranian delegation and sparse information from the official diplomacy. Namely, the Iranian guest responded to the invitation of Minister for Economic Activity Dr. Maks Tajnikar to attend a ceremonial dinner in Brdo. Among the guests were also the directors of the eight Slovene companies who are the biggest exporters to this Asian country. In the talks that lasted approximately three hours they exchanged opinions on the most topical issues, also discussing the settlement of debts, and examining possibilities for further cooperation.

Minister Tajnikar first presented the economic situation in Slovenia to the Iranian guests and in this way demonstrated that our economy is going through a phase of revival, that we have a developed technology, balanced foreign and domestic trade—proof that we are a serious economic partner. A joint appearance on foreign markets, for example, would be to mutual advantage while Iran would probably also find it interesting to break

through into Europe via Slovenia. We could use good political relations for the strengthening of the economic ties.

A group of businessmen (consisting of Dr. Joze Duhovnik from Litostroj, Aljosa Ivancic from Iskra Ponti, Dr. Mirko Opara from Smelt, Bojan Mavko from Iskra Sistemi, Maksimiljan Senica from TAM, Andrej Kokalj from the Slovene Ironworks, Dr. Alenka Brvar from Iskra Elektrooptika, and a representative of Iskra Tel) had the opportunity to present their problems and views on cooperation directly to the foreign minister and his entourage. They discussed concrete deals, new initiatives prepared by the Slovene companies, the degree of viability of various contracts, and also the Iranian debt of approximately \$19 million. They redefined some issues. The Iranians showed particular interest in the transfer of technology (Iskra, Slovene Ironworks, TAM). They also agreed that the Iranian ambassador will visit individual companies to agree on concrete deals.

'Ali Akbar Velayati was told that the Slovene economic delegation will visit Sarajevo shortly and, on that occasion, meet with the top Bosnia-Herzegovina officials and economic representatives. In Brdo they, thus, also discussed how Iran and Slovenia could participate in the reconstruction of Bosnia—which is a great interest of Slovenia's. They also spoke about the idea according to which companies from Slovenia and Iran would participate in cooperation deals while Iran would also finance some of the projects of this kind. The aid would, therefore, not go directly, but through some of our companies. Minister Tajnikar will inform the Bosnian leadership of this offer.

Discussing the Iranian payment problems—this issue was raised first by the director of Litostroj—Velayati said that, a week ago, their central bank passed a decision to resolve the payment problems in the shortest possible time. It seems that payment problems are not as critical as to threaten the economic cooperation between the two economies. It does not hopelessly involve poor payment record of the Iranian side, but objective circumstances that can be understood, and delayed payments. Also, Iran is striving to improve its payments' discipline. It is important that Slovenia has a market and certain privileges from it; Iran is primarily interesting for us because of oil (which we do not buy from the state, which demands to high a price, but on the free market).

The companies whose directors met in Brdo are among the top 10 Iranian partners and exporters and their deals amount to several million dollars annually.

Federal

Zhirinovskiy To Visit in Early May

LD2004133094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, president of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, has accepted an invitation from Mirko Jovic, president of the Serb National Renewal [SNO], to visit our country at the beginning of May, the SNO says in a statement issued today. The statement says that the visit will last three days and will take place within the framework of cooperation between the two parties and the talks on developing a "pan-Slav Christian union".

Serbia

Seselj Threatens Italy With 'Powerful Weapons'

BR2004114394 Milan LA VOCE in Italian 20 Apr 94 p 19

[Interview with Serbian Radical Party leader Vojislav Seselj by Mimmo Lombezzi in Belgrade; date not given: "We Will Attack Italy With Our Missiles"]

[Text] Vojislav Seselj is in Belgrade. He is the leader of the Serbian Radical Party, the extremist faction of the Serbian nationalists, and is the political referent and ideologue for the chetnik terrorists who are fighting on the Bosnian front. This interview is with "Studio Aperto" [news bulletin on Italia 1 TV channel].

[Lombezzi] Yeltsin's envoy, Vitaliy Churkin, has said that Russia must not support a group of Serbian extremists that is dragging the other Serbs into war.

[Seselj] Vitaliy Churkin is applying American politics in the Balkans. We do not care what he said, Churkin asked [Serbian President] Milosevic to destroy the Serbian Radical Party and Milosevic said that he will do all that he can to satisfy him. However, I am telling you that we are indestructible. And that neither Churkin nor Milosevic can do anything.

[Lombezzi] It seems that NATO is planning other raids. What solutions do you propose for the Muslim enclaves and for Gorazde?

[Seselj] I would advise them to make their pilots fly a little lower so that they can see the Serbian posts and so that even ours can see them better through the anti-aircraft finders. They will end up like the British aircraft that was shot down a few days ago. The Serbs are certainly not scared of an air attack; we have already won this war. The Americans can get as angry as they please but the territories that we have taken over will not be returned.

[Lombezzi] Some right-wing parties in Italy would like to rediscuss the borders of Istria and Dalmatia...

[Seselj] I personally would like to see that what was once Italian—that is Zara and some islands in Dalmatia, Istria, Fiume, and Carnaro—will be returned to Italy. Hundreds of thousands of Italians were chased away from Croatia. According to the principle of justice all this must be returned to Italy. We were very happy when we heard that [Forza Italia leader] Berlusconi won, I think he is a real patriot. We hope that his policy in this issue will be reasonable and that his government will act effectively in returning to Italy that which is Italian. We Serbs are willing to help him.

[Lombezzi] How will 2 million refugees be able to live?

[Seselj] Why should this worry us? They wanted this war, they lost this war, and the direct consequence of this is losing territory. They should have thought about this before when they would not accept any compromises; they wanted all of Bosnia and now they will have 10 percent of the territory.

[Lombezzi] According to the UN human rights commission, your men have become responsible for the ethnic cleansing and massacres in Bosnia.

[Seselj] Crimes bearing the signature of the Serbian Radical Party have never been proven. This demonstrates that its accusations are completely unfounded, as are those of the West, which does not know what is happening here.

[Lombezzi] If the international court on war crimes in the former Yugoslavia wants to put you on trial, will you present yourself?

[Seselj] I do not recognize the legality of this court, but I am telling you that if they accuse me I will present myself voluntarily. I really do not want to miss this show.

[Lombezzi] Will Italy be at risk if NATO launches other raids?

[Seselj] Italy has already exposed itself to a terrible risk because the American aircraft leave from Aviano air base to bomb our positions. This time we have not reacted against Italy because we appreciate and respect Berlusconi, who has still not succeeded in forming a government, but we believe that he will not allow somebody to tread on Italy's national interests and to push Italy into a conflict with its friend Serbia. We are waiting to see how the Italian Government will be composed, and then we will decide whether to attack or not. However, I am telling you that this can lead to the most serious consequences because we have very powerful weapons. Our SS-20's can reach the Italian coast and even further inland. NATO is fully aware of this; all these missiles are hidden underground and cannot be destroyed, not even with nuclear weapons.

Prime Minister on Passage of 1994 Budget*AU2004190094 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Apr 94*

["Exclusive" statement by Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic for Belgrade Television; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The passing of the budget of the Republic of Serbia means laying the foundations in the realization of the reconstruction of the monetary system and economic revival of the country. The basis of this program is a stable dinar, stable prices, and the reanimation of production. We expected the passing of the budget as it was carried out today and I can say that, naturally, I am satisfied with this result in the Serbian Assembly today. I would only like to emphasize that individual opposition leaders objecting to the adoption of this budget actually means a demagogic and defeatist approach and proves once again that they were not right when they declined to take part in the government and were left on the margin of all events in the struggle for better life of this nation.

Vojvodina**Industrial Production Increases 39.8 Percent***LD2004162194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—Industrial production in Vojvodina increased by 39.8 percent in March compared to February this year. A further increase is expected in April, given that loans have been granted to revive production, Todor Balos, member of the Vojvodina Economic Chamber Board told TANJUG today. He said that industrial production in the first three months of this year was at a slightly lower level than in the same period last year, but the March results, which were better than in February, as well as the expected further increase in production, indicated that we are on the path of reviving production in line with the country's stabilization program. [passage omitted]

Kosovo**Albanian Press Rejects Autonomy as 'Slavery'***AU2004103394 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Apr 94 p 2*

[Article by Xhemal Rexhepi: "Autonomy Legalizes the Slavery of the Albanians"]

[Text] The Albanian political scene, especially in Kosovo, has been very lively recently. The recent visits of Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosovo, to Britain, France, and Italy, with their successful talks with high-level government officials of these countries, and especially his subsequent talk with U.S. President Bill Clinton, have contributed to this. It is worth mentioning

here the first steps toward solving the question of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croat-Serb conflict in Croatia, as well as the forecasts by various international mediators that the problem of Kosovo will soon be put on the agenda within the framework of solving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

We Will Not Be Forgiven Recklessness

Besides the schedule forecast for solving the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia, there have also been statements by various diplomats that the problem of Kosovo "must be solved by extensive political autonomy," or that "The autonomy of 1974 must be restored," and that "Serbia's jurisdiction over Kosovo is not contested." There have also been statements by different parliamentarians, congressmen, senators, and publicists, who emphasize that "The crisis in the former Yugoslavia cannot be solved if the independent status of Kosovo is not accepted. Only an independent and sovereign Kosovo is a guarantee of peace and security in this area and even in the entire region."

Nevertheless, the first kinds of statement rather than the second make a greater impression in the media darkness of Kosovo, in those two or three weeklies and the single daily that are rarely sure of appearing on their appointed days. This is understandable, if for no other reason than the fact that we are sensitive to being offered solutions to the Kosovo problem with a "sort of autonomy," when it is well known that the population of Kosovo long ago clearly declared their political will for an independent and sovereign Kosovo.

However, what does not seem reasonable to us are the contrived explanations of the different kinds of autonomy and the many speculations over whether Serbia will be ready to agree to them or not. It seems that they prompted the leader of one recently formed party to announce that "Any solution that averts a conflict must be accepted!" When we consider all these extrapolations devised in cafe corners and especially in the commentaries of the Belgrade press, we realize that these matters call for great care, especially on the part of those who speak on behalf of the parties they belong to, but also those who in one way or another appear on the political stage and create public opinion in Kosovo and beyond.

In the final analysis, now is least of all a time to forgive mistakes and political recklessness. We must also learn from our turbulent, splendid, and tragic history, when we lost the fruits of liberation struggles on the negotiating tables in London or Paris, and especially in Belgrade and at Brioni.

Autonomy Is Not a Solution

It follows that it is not out of place, whenever recipes for a Kosovo solution involving some kind of autonomy are offered, to demonstrate with facts and evidence to those responsible for such recipes that the problem of Kosovo

and its Albanians cannot be solved in this way. On the contrary, such a status merely legalizes their further slavery.

The Albanians in Kosova have now tried every kind of autonomy, in the time of the Ottoman Empire, and under Yugoslavia and Serbia. It is enough to mention the four kinds of autonomy that Kosova and the Albanians have experienced as part of Serbia and Yugoslavia in the last 50 years. As is well known, the autonomy of 1945, which was produced to suit the police and military regime of the Serbian and Yugoslav UdBA [State Security Administration], turned Kosova into a large concentration camp for the majority of Albanians, who for four years on end had fought alongside the allies against fascism, with the aim of exercising the right to self-determination and deciding their own destiny.

However, the right of self-determination was not achieved, and the Serbian regime shot thousands of Albanians as "counterrevolutionaries, Balists, and anti-Yugoslavs," and maltreated, imprisoned, and interned hundreds and thousands of others in all the Yugoslav prisons. They were accused of being kulaks for failing to hand in their grain and meat surpluses (when their children were dying of hunger), for not paying the state levy ("zajm") [Serbo-Croatian word used], or for not unveiling their women, while the acme of violence was reached in the infamous weapons-collection campaign. The archives of the Yugoslav UdBA itself, as published after the Brioni plenum [1966], reveal that during this campaign alone more than 30,000 Albanians in Kosova were beaten and bestially maltreated, almost 100 were murdered, and hundreds and thousands of others were turned into life-long invalids.

Thus, in the first phase of autonomy, Kosova and the Albanians were allotted the status of slaves, which directly paved the way for their forced emigration to the steppes of Anatolia. The second phase of Kosova's autonomy did not prevent this unprecedented exodus. On the contrary, all possible means of state violence encouraged it, until about 250,000 Albanians from Kosova had emigrated to Turkey by 1966. At this time, as is well known, the Rankovic [interior minister in the 1950s and 1960s] line lost the battle for power and domination in the hierarchy of the Yugoslav rulers. The Titoite line claimed to be against the "strong hand" of Yugoslav unitarism and embarked on a kind of reform and decentralization of power.

In the course of this reform, Kosova and Vojvodina won a new status of political autonomy, being accepted as constitutive elements and federal units, albeit within the composition of Serbia. This was the autonomy of 1974, under which Kosova and the Albanians indeed achieved important turning points in their educational, cultural, and economic development. However, even with this constitution, the Albanians did not achieve their historic goal of the right to self-determination, or even equality

with the other peoples in the Yugoslav federation, although they were numerically the third-largest people in the former Yugoslavia. The fact that Serbia suspended this very same constitution while the federal Yugoslav state was still operating and did so without any opposition from the other federal units best shows what kind of basis it was for "the security and equality of Kosova and the Albanians."

Half-Baked Solutions—Open Conflict

In fact, it was precisely under the 1974 Constitution that the Albanians' disgust and discontent expressed in the spring of 1981 were branded as counterrevolutionary, with the most serious labels and epithets being attached to the Albanians. By 1987, the police had maltreated about 650,000 Albanians or one Albanian in three in Kosova, besides imprisoning hundreds and thousands of others. By 1990, about 150 Albanians, mainly young people and including even children, had been killed. The Serbian regime has continued its violence against the Albanians under the autonomy guaranteed to "Kosovo-Metohija" four years ago. Under it, 12,000 Albanians have now been dismissed from their work; all the secondary schools and colleges; and even some elementary schools have been closed to Albanians; all the Albanian-language media, including Prishtina Radio-Television and the sole Albanian-language daily RILINDJA, and all the cultural and academic institutions have been closed, including most recently the Kosova Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Albanological Institute. By the same logic, and on the basis of the autonomy of "Kosovo-Metohija," hundreds and thousands of Albanians are daily beaten, plundered, and maltreated, and hundreds are detained in prisons, while the "blessings" of the last four years have forced 300,000 Albanians to emigrate from Kosova and to seek their salvation in various European countries.

Because of all this bitter experience with autonomy within Serbia and Yugoslavia, the possibility that they might remain under the jurisdiction of Serbia with "some kind of extensive political autonomy" makes the Albanians' flesh creep. It is precisely for this reason that all the legitimate institutions of Kosova and virtually all the Albanian political parties rightly refuse all bargaining involving such solutions for Kosova.

In the final analysis, they are also bound by the political will of the population of Kosova expressed in the referendum of September 1991 and the multiparty and presidential elections of May 1992. The Albanians' restrained behavior so far and their declaration that the question of Kosova must be solved in a democratic way, through dialogue and peaceful means, are also strong arguments for the Albanian side not to accept any half-baked solutions, but only the settlement that the political will of the people demands—a sovereign and independent Kosova. Any other solution leaves open the door for a conflict even greater than that seen so far, something the Albanians have never wanted.